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ARTICLE VII.

THE WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.

THERE is a large tract of country, situated between the River Indus on the east, and the Persian Empire on the west, which has been, perhaps, generally regarded as a part of Persia, though its inhabitants acknowledge no dependence upon that country ; and it has for a long period had little or no political connection with it. Some geographers have given it the name of Independent Persia. It is bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the north by the chain of the Caucasus, called the Hindoo Koosh, extending 800 miles from north to south, and 700 from east to west. It is a mountainous country, and rises at the north to a great elevation. In one part its mountains rise to the height of 20,593 feet above the level of the ocean, and although only in the 34th degree of latitude, they are covered with perpetual snow. Various ranges of mountains traverse the country, and intersect it by impassable ridges, one of the principal of which, running parallel with the Indus, is called the Solimaun. These ridges are intersected by occasional narrow passes, and between them are extensive elevated table lands, some of which are of great fertility, yielding the products, on account of their great height, of a temperate, rather than a tropical climate. At the south it consists partly of rugged mountains of less elevation, and partly of deserts, like those of Africa and Arabia, the sands of which being blown into waves, resist all cultivation, and almost effectually resist the access of the traveller.

In the northern part of this territory, sometimes designated as the

Kingdom of Cabul, a brave Affghan Chief, Ahmed Shah, about the middle of the last century founded a powerful empire, which he extended by successive conquests over the neighboring parts of Hindostan, Lahore, Moulton, and Cashmere. The kingdom of Cabul became one of the most powerful in Asia ; but on the death of Ahmed Shah, it was broken up by the dissensions of his family, and the power of Runjeet Singh, the King of Lahore. The kingdom of Cabul proper, or Affghanistan, is estimated by Mr. Elphinstone to contain 8,000,000 inhabitants, of whom the Affghans are computed to number 4,300,000 ; the Beloochees, 1,000,000 ; the Tartars, 1,200,000 ; and the Persians, 1,500,000. The country of Belochistan is situated on the south of the kingdom of Cabul, or Affghanistan, and borders on the coast of the Indian Ocean. A part of this vast tract of country on the west is also called the province of Mekran.

The Affghans, in their aspect and character, present a striking contrast to the Hindoos, who inhabit the neighboring country. They have high and harsh features, and are of an independent and martial spirit. They are a more rude and unpolished people than those of Hindostan, and are acquainted with fewer of the arts of life. They are remarked for their simplicity of manners, their sobriety and contempt of pleasure, and their unbounded hospitality. They wear long beards and loose garments, composed, among the poorer classes, of shaggy skins and coarse cloths, and among the rich, of velvets, shawl-cloths and silks. The established religion is Mahometan, but a greater toleration of other religions prevails than in other Mussulman countries. Polygamy is permitted among them, but it does not prevail to a great extent. They are generally attached to a pastoral life, and near half of them, particularly in the western part of the country, dwell in tents. Of those who dwell in houses, a small portion have shown a disposition to congregate in cities. They are fond of hunting and of active sports. As the country is rich and productive, provisions, particularly fruits and vegetables, are cheap, and good living is common to the inhabitants. They are sober and temperate, yet indulge in conviviality and habits of hospitality.

The people of Affghanistan are divided into a number of tribes. On the northeast are the Berdooraunees, who are chiefly enclosed between the Hindoo Koosh on the north, the Indus on the east, and the Solimaun mountains on the west. Their capital, and one of the principal cities of the country, is Peshawer. The country inhabited by this tribe is peculiarly rugged, yet interspersed with fertile valleys, which are well cultivated, and maintain a great population. Interspersed among this tribe, and in the neighboring mountains, are a number of minor tribes, some of which are extremely savage in their manners, and predatory in their habits of living. Peshawer is situated

in a very fertile plain, and it formerly contained 100,000 inhabitants. It is now reduced to one half that number. It is rudely built, and its few good public edifices have gone much to decay. Further west is the country of the Ghilzies, in which is situated the city of Cabul, recently the capital of the country. It has a delightful situation, in a temperate and healthy climate, at an elevation of 6,000 feet above the level of the ocean, and surrounded by an extensive, finely watered and fertile plain. The soil produces an abundance of forage, and a profusion of delicious fruits. It has a population of about 60,000, and a bazaar of 2,000 shops, which is said to be without a rival in the East. Dost Mahomed, who made this his capital, maintained an army of 9,000 well-armed horse, and 2,000 infantry. Ghuznee, or Ghizni, is also in the same district of country. It was formerly the capital of a very extensive country, and the seat of a splendid court, but it is now much reduced, its streets are dark and narrow, and it contains but about 1,500 houses. When lately invaded by the British army, it was protected by a very strong citadel.

A portion of the country, situated still further west, is occupied by the Dooranee tribe. The territory of this tribe extends from the mountains of Paropampus on the north, to the sandy plains of Seistan on the south. Their numbers are supposed to be about a million. Most of them are shepherds, living in tents, and leading a gay and pastoral life, indulging in frequent festivals, in which preparations of milk and sherbet furnish the chief regale. The principal town in this part of the country is Candahar, a very ancient city, which traces back its origin to the times of Alexander the Great. The present town, however, was built little more than half a century ago, by Ahmet Shah. Near the northwestern angle of the Affghan territory, is the town of Herat, and midway between this town and Candahar, is the large walled town of Ferra, the ancient Parra. In the vicinity of these towns are a number of minor tribes, boasting but a slight degree of civilization, and differing essentially from one another in their habits of life, and character. South of the territory occupied by these tribes, is the province of Seistan, situated in the lower parts of the basin of the river Helmund and its tributaries, and of the great lake Zerrah, into which this river flows. This country is celebrated in Persian story and song as one of the finest regions of the east. There are still to be found, at short intervals, along the Helmund, remains of extensive cities with superb palaces, which fully confirm the stories of the wealth and population of this country. It now exhibits a dismal reverse of this picture, and the cause of its desolation is sufficiently obvious. Being bounded on the west by the immense deserts which stretch along the eastern border of Persia, the wind,

which blows during a great part of the year from that quarter, brings with it a cloud of light sand, which in process of time converts the earth into an arid waste, destroying all vegetation, and in its gradual progress buries beneath it fields, gardens, houses, and entire towns. A similar process, on a much smaller scale, but operating with a like resistless energy, may be observed in one or two towns of the county of Barnstable, in the State of Massachusetts. In the country of Seistan, the only portions which have escaped this desolating inundation, are narrow belts along the banks of the rivers, along which there are some remains of fertility. The lake of Zerrah is the only large expanse of water in these countries. It is 90 miles in length, and 20 in breadth; but in dry seasons it is shallow, and much overgrown with reeds. It has no outlet, and the water is brackish, but it abounds with fish and wild fowl. In the centre of it is a fortified island, where the nobles were wont to take refuge when the country was invaded by foreign enemies. The river Helmund, which discharges its waters into this lake, is more than 500 miles in length, and it receives the waters of a large number of tributary streams. The river Furrah empties its waters into the same lake. The capital of Seistan, called Dooshak, is situated upon the Helmund, at some distance from the lake. It is a small, but neat and well-peopled city, and its inhabitants are more polished than most of those of this extensive country.

The province of Meckran, a vast tract of country 400 miles in extent from north to south, and more than half that extent from east to west, is either abandoned to desolation, or occupied by a number of small, fierce, independent, predatory tribes. A great part of this region is composed of a desert of red moving sand, so light as to be almost impalpable, but which is formed by the action of the wind into wave-like ridges of a peculiar structure, such as almost to impede the advance of the traveller. One side slopes gradually away, and the other rises perpendicularly to a considerable height. Eastern Belochistan is of a very different character. It consists of a huge mass of rugged and rocky mountains, with intervening valleys, most of which are rocky, and destitute of fertility. In the northeastern part is a tract, which is less barren than the rest, called Cutch Gundava. The capital of this province is Khelat, a town of 4,000 houses, which stands on land supposed to be 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, and therefore subject in winter to such intense cold, that the Khan and principal chiefs descend to a lower and milder region. The Khan of Khelat claims the sovereignty over the whole of Belochistan, but his actual power is chiefly limited to the district immediately adjoining. The Beloches are described as "a brave, hospitable, honorable robber, making raids of eighty or ninety miles to burn a village,

and carry off the inhabitants as slaves, but treating kindly, and securing from all harm, the stranger who has or purchases a claim to his protection." Along the sea-coast are a number of tribes of banditti, of the most ferocious and brutal class. There are three small sea-ports, of some little trade, which are subject, or tributary to the Imaum of Muscat.

It has been the destiny of this country to be governed, from time immemorial, by a succession of usurpers, sometimes with and sometimes without the claim of hereditary right in their respective families. One hundred years ago it was conquered by the bloody despot Nadir Shah. He had made himself master of the kingdom of Persia, and of some of the neighboring provinces of Turkey. He thence extended his dominion over Affghanistan, and marched with a powerful army into Hindostan. In the capital of that empire, Delhi, which he robbed of an immense treasure, it is said that he caused 100,000 persons to be massacred in one day. His cruelties were practiced upon the people of Affghanistan, as well as upon the Hindoos. A holy dervise said to him, "Invincible Shah! if thou art a god, show thy resemblance to the Deity by thy clemency! If thou art a prophet, show unto us the way of salvation. If thou art a king, put us not to death, but reign over us and make us happy." Nadir Shah replied, "I am not a god, that I should forgive; nor a prophet, that I should teach; nor your king, that I should reign over you: but I am he whom God sends in his wrath to punish the nations of the earth." He introduced into Cabul a colony of Persians, who remain there to this day, having increased to 4 or 5,000 families. Nadir came to a violent death in 1747, and from that time Affghanistan has been entirely independent of Persia. Ahmed Shah, an Affghan chief of the Duraunee tribe, who at the time of the assassination of Nadir, held a command in his army, fought his way through the Persian camp; marched back to Affghanistan with the contingent of troops from that country. On his way, by a piece of good fortune, he intercepted a convoy of treasure from Delhi; and on his arrival at Candahar, he caused himself to be crowned king. He maintained his power over Affghanistan to a good old age, and extended it over some part of the Mahratta confederacy. He was succeeded by his son, but his grandchildren were expelled from the country, and the power fell into other hands. It is not necessary here to go into a history of these revolutions, and to attempt it would extend this article to too great a length.

In the year 1837, the period when the government of British India first assumed an active interference in the affairs of this country, the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan ruled at Cabul, and with other chiefs of his family held dominion over the greater part of the country.

His right to the throne, however, was contested by the descendants of Ahmed Shah, one of whom was in actual possession of the government of Herat, and another, the Shah Shojah-ool-Moolk was a pensioner of the India Government at Loodianah, in the kingdom of Lahore. The chiefs of this family had recently made an attempt to reinstate themselves in their hereditary possessions, but had met with a defeat, and had been permitted to withdraw from the country. Dost Mahomed had found another competitor for a part of his dominions, in the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the powerful ruler of the Sikhs, and an ally of the British Indian Government. The power and resources of Runjeet Sing were vastly superior to those of Dost Mahomed, and his ambition led him to desire to extend his dominions beyond the Indus. He had made an actual conquest of Peshawer, one of the most populous provinces of Affghanistan. He had probably in view a further extension of his conquests in this quarter, but his attention having been drawn for a time in another direction, he withdrew a part of his troops. The Ameer in the mean time assembled an army of 50,000 men, made an attack upon the Sikhs remaining in Peshawer, and fought the battle of Jumrood on the 1st of May, 1837, in which it was said that the number killed on both sides amounted to 7,000 men. The Sikhs met with a decisive defeat, and were obliged to abandon the country. This was, however, but a temporary check of an enemy abundantly able to repair the loss, and the Ameer evidently stood in fear of the superior power of the ruler of the Punjaub, who was preparing to recover his loss.

Dost Mahomed was also in danger from another quarter. One of the descendants of Ahmer Khan, the long acknowledged sovereign of the country, Kamran, Prince of Herat, retained the dominion over a province in the northwestern part of the Affghan territory, bordering on Persia. He had fallen under a sort of dependence on the Shah of Persia, but had recently failed of performing his engagements with that prince, whereupon the latter threatened to make himself master of Herat by military force. He raised an army for this purpose, and began to make pretensions to other provinces of Affghanistan, Candahar and Ghizni. Mr. Ellis, the British Minister in Persia, used his endeavors to dissuade him from his purpose. The Russian Ambassador, Count Simonitch, on the other hand, appears to have encouraged him in the design, as a successful military enterprise abroad would serve to establish him firmly in his power at home. The Shah persisted in his purpose, and after a long time spent in preparation, he took the field in person with an army of 40,000 men, and 100 pieces of artillery. The fortress of Ghorian, within the Affghan territory, was attacked and captured, and the army proceeded to lay siege to Herat. The siege was not actually begun until December, 1837.

The British Minister continued to protest against the proceeding, but it was countenanced on the other hand by the Russian Minister, and it was conducted by the aid of a Russian engineer. The garrison of the place made a vigorous defence, being aided by a British officer, Lieutenant Pottinger, and, contrary to expectation, it held out to the 9th of September following, when in consequence of the failure of an assault which was attended with severe loss, the assailants abandoned the siege, and returned to Teheran.

Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, Chief of Cabul, finding himself pressed on the northeast by the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, an old ally of the British India Government, and also by a threat of invasion, on the side of Herat, by the Shah of Persia, applied for assistance to the Governor-General of India. He also addressed a letter, which he despatched by a special agent to the Emperor of Russia. It was known to the British Government, through their Minister in Persia, that the Shah was entertaining hostile projects against the Affghan Provinces, in which it was believed he was countenanced by the Government of Russia. The Governor-General of India, Lord Auckland, sent Captain Alexander Burnes, who had previously resided at Cabul, in a diplomatic capacity, to the court of Dost Mahomed, to ascertain the state of affairs, and with authority to promise, under certain circumstances, the friendly offices of the India Government. Captain Burnes arrived at Cabul in 1837, and soon ascertained that the Ameer had made advances for a negotiation with Russia, and also with Persia. Dost Mahomed received him with frankness, communicated to him a copy of his letter to the Emperor of Russia, and of the answer to it from the Russian Minister in Persia, and assured him of his desire to be on favorable terms with the British Government. But he was desirous to obtain from the Governor-General the promise of his interposition with Runjeet Sing, for the settlement of his differences with that Government, and also a guarantee to the chiefs of Candahar, and Kamran, Prince of Herat, of the possession of their respective territories against the designs of Persia. This was in the autumn of 1837, when the Shah of Persia was preparing for the invasion of Herat. Shortly afterwards, Captain Burnes was surprised by the actual arrival of a Russian agent, Lieut. Vickovitch, from St. Petersburg, who had set out thence in company with the Ameer's own agent, but the latter was taken sick, and was detained at Moscow. Lieut. Vickovitch brought with him a letter, with a present of splendid cloths, from the Russian Minister in Persia, and also a letter from the Shah of Persia. The Russian Minister, in his letter, says to the Ameer, that he hopes he will treat the agent with consideration, and trust him with his secrets.

Captain Burnes, in his letter to the Governor-General announcing

the arrival of this emissary, says that after he had presented his letters, he was invited to the Bala Hissar on the following day. "The communications which passed on this second occasion, have been made known to me, and are of a startling nature. Mr. Vickovitch informed Dost Mahomed Khan, that the Russian Government had desired him to state his sincere sympathy with the difficulties under which he labored; and that it would afford it great pleasure to assist him in repelling the attacks of Runjeet Sing on his dominions; that it was ready to furnish him with a sum of money for the purpose, and to continue the supply annually, expecting in return the Ameer's good offices. That it was in its power to forward the pecuniary assistance as far as Bokhara, with which state it had friendly and commercial relations; but that the Ameer must arrange for its being forwarded on to Cabul. The agent stated that this was the principal object of his mission; but that there were other matters, which he would state by-and-by."

It does not appear that the Ameer at first received the propositions of the Russian emissary with much cordiality; but being disappointed of the offers and assurances which he had anticipated from the Governor-General, he was led by degrees to the determination of placing his reliance on the offers of aid from Russia. We cannot give the history of the negotiations at length. The principal points of it are sufficiently explained for the present purpose, in the following letter from the Ameer to the Governor-General, in which he describes his situation and wishes; and in the letter of Captain Burnes, in which he gives an account of the termination of his mission. The first of these letters, from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan to Lord Auckland, dated at Cabul, March 21, 1838, with the omission of the complimentary part, is as follows:

"When I was anxious to hear of your welfare, and to receive the marks of your lordship's favor, your highly-esteemed letter reached me, and made me happy. Its contents, which I fully understood, conveyed the promise of your lordship's favor, in behalf of the Affghan people, to some limited points; and also how far your lordship will do them kindness on certain conditions. All this I have perfectly comprehended.

"Consequent on my several applications and ardent hopes for a settlement of my affairs with the Sikh Government, your lordship was kind enough to depute Captain Alexander Burnes to Cabool.

"Meanwhile other circumstances happened; the King of Persia marched on Herat, which delayed the settlement of affairs on this side the Attock (Indus). As I rely on the British friendship, I gave no countenance to the Persian government. What I wrote to prevent the Sirdars of Candahar from making any connection with Persia is known to Captain Burnes.

"After this had occurred, the Emperor of Russia has sent here his messenger, with his Majesty's royal letter to me, which I showed to Captain Burnes, along with my own letter to the Emperor, which I had addressed in the time of my distress.

"I have not yet replied to the letter from Russia, as snow, and the disturbances of the road, prevented my dismissing the messenger; but as the winter is now over, and the roads are free from danger, I shall by all means dismiss him, that he may return to his country safely.

"To make known objects in the hope of profit, to those personages who can do some good to the man in want, is consistent with propriety. Your lordship is the source of generosity and favor; therefore I take the liberty to repeat my grievances, expecting that your lordship will release the Affghans from distress, and enlarge their possessions.

"If your lordship settles the affairs of the Affghans, they and their posterity will be grateful; you will have a good name; and by their connections with the British Government they will perform most important and useful service, according to your satisfaction. The King of Persia is now besieging Herat; but if your lordship would give us a little encouragement and assistance, his Majesty would never be able to attack the country of the Affghans.

"The favors of your lordship are beyond the description of my pen; but I am lost in speculation what has created this neglect of your lordship in behalf of the Affghan people. A settlement of the affairs of the east of Affghanistan remains under a painful delay; disturbances are making havoc on the west; and the whole of this people are low-spirited; how then is it possible that this nation can be free from impending dangers? I have no kind of inclination to enter into an alliance with any other power but the British.

"If we resolve to check the progress of the enemy on the west, my want and need prevent me undertaking the expedition. If Herat falls into the hands of the Persians, it will cause serious loss and damage to the whole country of Affghanistan. When disappointments afflict the heart of mankind, they do many things that are wrong. I hope Herat will never be taken by the Kajars, which might compel the Affghans of that part to submit to that power.

"The chiefs of Candahar, somewhat by fear, and somewhat by weakness, as well as by their hopelessness, are bringing death to themselves. If they become friends to the Persians, and I also be unable to protect them, this will produce much harm in Affghanistan.

"I hope, and sincerely trust, that your lordship will apply an immediate cure to my pains, for the Russians are publicly assisting the Persians, and have made a breach in the treaty which has long subsisted between them and the British, by stepping into the country of Affghanistan.

"If such things do take place, what then prevents your lordship remedying our grievances and protecting us?

"If your lordship would give us a little encouragement and power,

it would be impossible for Mahomed Shah to go back safely to Persia, or to take with him the baggage and guns which he has now with him at Herat.

"If your lordship is pleased to bestow a little trouble to adjust affairs between this country and the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, who is the great and old ally of the British, how is it possible that we should make objection to it, or to suitable arrangements for peace?"

"As I rely on your lordship's favor, I have freely laid open my feelings in the hope of better fortune, since delays raise up fears of danger.

"Captain Burnes will fully inform your lordship respecting the rest of my affairs. Let me be honored by hearing from your lordship."

Extract from a Letter from Captain Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., dated

CABOOL, April 25, 1838.

"On the 24th ult. I had the honor to report, for the information of the Right. Hon. the Governor-General of India, the mode in which my discussions with the Ameer of Cabool had terminated, and that, though hope then existed of some ultimate good understanding being established, it has day by day grown more faint; and I have now received my dismissal from Cabool, and am preparing without loss of time to quit this city and retire upon Peshawer. The immediate cause of such a step being necessary, is the arrival of Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan from Candahar, and the demands in consequence made by him, in which he has been joined by the Ameer, for a direct promise of protection from Persia, should Herat fall, of which there is no doubt now entertained by the authorities here. I shall report in detail the circumstances which have led to this untoward event at Cabool.

"Shortly after Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan reached this, he waited upon me, and we conversed upon all which had passed; when I plainly told him the manner in which the Ameer had met the views of the British government, was by no means likely to satisfy it, and instanced his declining to open any communication, direct or indirect, with Maharajah Runjeet Sing, as the clearest proof of his neglect of our advice and his own interests. The Sirdar expressed great concern at what had passed, but immediately turned upon the affairs of Candahar, stating that he had full powers from his two brothers there to treat with me, and that he must have, as the price of adhering to us in the present critical state of affairs at Herat, a pledge of protection from Persia. I told him that he could have no stronger or better pledge from government than the presence of Mr. Leach at such a juncture, for the British never deserted their friends; and who would presume to disturb them when an agent accredited by it was resident at Candahar?"

"This was far from satisfying the Sirdar, who declared that neither he nor his brothers could accept such general promises, and that they had a claim on the British, since, whatever might have been the behavior of the Ameer at Cabool, the Candahar family had done nothing

wrong, and adhered to our government, which was bound in consequence to protect them. This interview took place on the 13th inst.

"On the 15th I received another visit from Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan, who was accompanied by the Nawab Jubbar Khan, Meerza Samee Khan, and the Naibs of Candahar and Cabool. The deputation was a formal one from both branches of the family. The Sirdar now informed me, that the Ameer had agreed to write to the Maharajah, through the Governor-General, to dismiss Captain Vickovitch; to hold no further communication with other powers; to write to the Shah of Persia that he had done with his Majesty for ever. The Sirdars of Candahar, on their part, agreed to address the Shah, recal Ullahdad, the agent, who had accompanied Kumber Alee, and to place themselves, along with their brother the Ameer, entirely under the protection of the British Government. In return for which they claimed at its hands two things. First, a direct promise of its good offices to establish peace at Peshawer, and an amelioration in the condition of Sultan Mahomed Khan; and, second, a promise, equally direct, to afford them protection from Persia, in whatever way the British judged it best for their interests, it being clearly understood that Candahar was not to be allowed to suffer injury.

"In reply to these observations, I observed that it was very satisfactory to hear what had been stated regarding the intentions of the Ameer and the chiefs of Candahar; but the deputation must not wonder at my being skeptical as to their sincerity, after my having received, so long since as the 23d ult., a letter of promise, addressed to the Governor-General, to dismiss Captain Vickovitch, while that officer still continued in Cabool; that with respect to Peshawer, the whole matter rested on Maharajah Runjeet Sing, with whom we were willing to use our good offices, if they behaved in a suitable manner; and had nothing further to say, than to regret their fixed determination not to address that personage directly, which might protract to a remote period a settlement so much to be desired for the good of all parties. With reference to their desisting from all intercourse with other powers, that followed as a mere matter of course, if they expected our friendship; but it was a very grave question for me to answer, that we should immediately secure Candahar from the attacks of Persia. Mr. Leech was there, by my orders, and with the sanction of the Governor-General; and what proof of our intention not to forsake them more valuable than this could they desire? But, for my part, their apprehension seemed to be very premature, for Herat was not yet captured, and the brave defence it was making should dispel their despondency. 'Above all,' said I, 'your proceedings seem singularly inconsistent, when it was but three months ago that you informed me you did not fear Persia, but the ruler of Herat.'

"To this the Sirdar replied, that 'I could not have considered that they had not only received an agent from the Emperor of Russia in Cabool, but a written promise, under the seal and signature of M. Goutte, the Russian agent with the Shah of Persia at Herat, which he

had with him, granting all that they desired; and it was for me to consider how far, under such circumstances, they could receive my arguments in opposition to such direct and recorded pledges. I asked if they reposed confidence in these papers: 'Most certainly,' was the reply, 'since they are from Europeans, whose word is inviolable.' 'But,' continued I, 'is not Russia to aid you, through means of Persia; and how does the Shah act towards you? He addresses you as his vassals, and calls your country a part of his own. Are Lord Auckland's letters or views couched in such terms? Certainly not.' 'That may be all true enough,' said the Sirdar; 'but a powerful enemy threatens us; and if you will do no more than use general terms, and go no further than keeping Mr. Leach at Candahar, we must take measures to secure ourselves in the manner best suited for our advantage.' The interview lasted about four hours; and I need not repeat the many arguments adduced for their abstaining from an alliance with Persia, since there was nothing new in them further than has been now given.

"On the 17th instant, as I have already reported to government, an agent reached this from Herat, bringing, as now appears, a communication from Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan, begging for assistance, and setting forth the difficulties which increased upon them, all of which went to still further excite the fears of the Ameer and of his brothers for their own safety, since the fall of Herat was again placed before them, and with it, as they believed, a shaking of their own stability, with which they could only contend by throwing themselves upon Persia, through Russia; or by drawing from me, as the agent of the British Government, a pledge that no harm would befall them.

"On the 19th I received a second deputation, consisting of the Nawab, Meerza Samee Khan, and Reshid Akhoond Zadee, the adviser of the Candahar chiefs; but Mehir Dil Khan was not of the party. The chief spokesman on this occasion was Reshid, and he set forth at great length the views of his master. 'It appeared,' said he, 'that this is no longer an affair between one nation and another, but it is Russia and Persia against England and the Sikhs; for Captain Vickovitch has publicly declared to the Ameer, that the interests of the Emperor and the Shah are identified; and though we would not trust the Shah himself, we may safely rely upon Russia.' Meerza Samee Khan stated, that a termination one way or the other was now at hand; and as the Ameer and his brothers had no other wish but to adhere to the British, I might easily keep them in our interests by giving the promise asked of me, though there was little hope of my doing so, when a single word from the Government might have long since settled Peshawar, and we refrained from saying it. Besides replies of a justificatory nature to these points, I told the party that they very unnecessarily obtruded upon us the power of Russia; that she was a very remote nation, to say nothing further of the inutility of an alliance with her; and that as for the comparison between Persia and Runjeet Sing, I could assure them that the Maharajah's power was far superior to that

of Mahomed Shah, and I spoke from personal observation. On my declining to give the promises asked of me regarding Candahar and Peshawer, the interview terminated.

"On the following day I had a private interview with — —, who did not conceal from me that the Ameer had withdrawn his hopes from our government; and though he did not tell me on whom he had centred them, it was not difficult to discover. He told me that Capt. Vickovitch had informed him of his Government and Persia being one; and that the Russian agent had been explaining to him in what manner Mahomed Shah had been raised to the throne of Persia. The English and Russian governments had both given him their hand; but the object of Russia was to exalt his Majesty, and of England to lower him.

"Any doubts as to the course which the Ameer and his advisers were to follow, were soon removed; for he opened at once an intercourse, in person, with Captain Vickovitch, and, besides having been long closeted with him, sent for him publicly on the 21st instant, when he was conducted through the streets of Cabool, and received a greater degree of respect than had been hitherto shown to him. The nature of the intercourse between him and the Ameer, has been reported to me on good authority, and is any thing but complimentary to the British; but, as it rests on report alone, I shall not here record it.

"Seeing that the Ameer was now almost reckless, and, if respectable people are to be relied on, even encouraged to commit himself by some acts of indiscretion towards the mission, I resolved on the 22d to address him a firm but temperate note, drawing to his mind all past events, not from any hope that advantage could be derived from it in my negotiations, but to place as distinctly as possible before him how much he might have himself to blame for any thing that followed. This document is appended (No. 1). On the day after it had been transmitted I received a reply, containing a notification of his having done with the British Government (No. 2), in which, as there were some circumstances requiring explanation, I again addressed him in writing (No. 3,) and applied for carriages to convey the commission to Peshawa. This I sent for delivery to himself; when he enlarged upon his ill-fortune, and our want of appreciation either of himself, or the dangers which threatened him; adding, that he would most certainly attend to my requests for carriage, and see the party safely carried beyond his country, which would still be open to all people of the English nation who visited it.

"On the 24th I had no communication with the officers of the Ameer, but in several notes regarding the arrangements for my departure, in all of which every and prompt attention was paid to my wishes, and proper persons nominated to accompany me to the frontier.

"On the 25th I was visited by Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan, the Nawab, Meerza Samee Khan, and the Naib of the Ameer; but it appeared to be of entirely a complimentary nature, for though they set out with

professing to do all the government wished, there was no change in what has been previously stated. Mehir Dil Khan said that the Ameer had understood it had been reported that Captain Vickovitch had written to Maharajah Runjeet Sing to desire him to quit Peshawer; and I said at once, that it was as public as report could make it; when the Sirdar said that it had been talked of, but not settled. He then said, that the presence of an agent from Kamran, now with me, was not consistent with a due regard to our friendly professions towards them. To this I replied, that I had not sent for an agent from Herat; that it was well known to them, if the British had mediated for the safety of Herat, the price of that was to be the discontinuance of attack on Candahar, and, what was still further, the Ameer in his note had included Herat as a part of Affghanistan to be protected; and there had been so little concealment in the object of the agent's mission, that I had given the letters of which he was the bearer, for the perusal of the Meerza of the Ameer. This was unanswerable.

"In the afternoon I had my audience of leave with the Ameer, whom I found considerably excited. He ran over the contents of the note No. 2, and said very distinctly that he had erred in applying to the British Government. I answered that it was ready to do what he he had asked of it; and he interrupted me by saying, that if the Governor General believed it was a protection of Cabool he had sued for, it was a mistake. Seeing the tone of feeling exhibited, I thought it advisable to say no more on what had passed; and, preparatory to leave-taking, thanked him for his attention and arrangements for my returning to Peshawa. He on this renewed the question of my departure; declared he was not to blame; that he had discarded Persia in the hope of pleasing us; and likewise slighted Russia; for, instead of caressing Captain Vickovitch, as was due to a great government like Russia, he had paid him no attention, and came always in person to visit me, while he had sent no one to him. He now appealed to me if he had not been indifferent to the Russian agent; and, knowing as I did what had passed within these few days, I looked surprised. He then observed that he did not allude to what had passed this day or two, as he had certainly seen, and consulted with Captain Vickovitch, and meant to avail himself of his services to rid Affghanistan of its present difficulties; but here again, continued he, I suffer from having called in your government: Persia will perhaps refuse my offers, because I treated her agent slighting'y, and Russia may tell me that I only cling to her when you have cast me off.

"Seeing matters in this state, I said but little, and referred him to my written papers, when the Ameer launched forth in praise of the English nation, and the conduct of the mission, &c., and begged I would stay as his guest for a few days. I replied, that the servants of the public were not their own masters, and after what he had written and stated, it was my duty to quit his country without delay, as I would never feel satisfied in a land where the good will of my government was not appreciated; that that good will was implored through-

out Asia, but had lost its virtue in Cabool. I added, that this was the second instance of failure in this country, and that where a man so celebrated as Mr. Elphinstone had failed, it might have been presumptuous in me to have hoped for success. To this he replied, that Mr. Elphinstone's failure arose with the inability of the Affghans, but my failure with the disinclination of the British; for what other meaning was attachable to words when Herat was about to fall, and Candahar threatened? After some further conversation, I took my leave, with many apparently kind and gracious expressions on his part."

Captain Burnes, after his departure, obtained a copy of the report of Lieutenant Vickovitch to the Russian Minister in Persia, Count Simonitch, of the results of his mission to Cabul, a part of which, as it is in many respects curious, and throws some light on the progress of the negotiation, we here subjoin, from the translation of Captain Burnes.

"Having departed from Candahar 2d (or may be the 27th) November, of the past year, 1837, I arrived at Cabool on the 8th of December. The reception of Dost Mahomed Khan, and his condescension towards me, was sufficiently marked, — polite as kind.

"I was lodged in the house of the first minister, Meerza Adoo Selm (probably Abdool or Abdalla) Khan, and after three days (waiting), I demanded an audience, when I delivered the imperial credentials (literally the most high letter), and the letter of your lordship; and to that I added verbally, that the object of my coming was to evince to him, and the rulers of Candahar, the very gracious wishes (or inclinations) of the Emperor; and to declare that his Majesty the Emperor was pleased to return a gracious reply to the letter of Dost Mahomed Khan, and vouchsafed to him protection and friendly alliance; that the rulers of Affghanistan, having made up or reconciled their differences among themselves (this passage is rather guessed at, being unintelligible), should acknowledge, or place themselves, under the dominion of Persia, with whom Russia is connected by truly friendly relations.

"The Ameer, in showing his satisfaction at the imperial letter, gave me to understand, that a friendly treaty (on the part) of the Affghans with the Persians could not be (subsist) because an English envoy, Captain Burnes, now here, has concluded (or was concluding) a mutual treaty. That Dost Mahomed Khan, having collected as large an Affghan army as possible, (should go or was to go) to the assistance of Kamran, against the Persians besieging Herat; and by that treaty the English bound themselves to give (to supply) the Affghans 20,000 muskets. (Some words here about the Russian alliance not legible.) And to make over to the possession of the Affghan, Peshawer, and the other conquests of Runjeet, on the right bank of the Indus; and that the treaty was despatched to Calcutta, for the information of the Governor-General of India, Lord Auckland. Thus terminated my first

interview with the Ameer Dost Mahomed; but his Vizier Meerza Abdool (Hossein) Khan almost daily comes to me, and makes various inquiries regarding the power of Russia, and the other European governments. In the mean time, Captain Burnes departed for Candahar, accompanied by the lieutenant of artillery, Leech, in order to (induce) the Candahar rulers (to enter into) a treaty, and (to withdraw themselves) from friendly relations with the Shah. The English have established between Cabool and Candahar, a kind of (letter post); and they have written (or it has been written), that the Persians are defeated, have retreated to Meshid, and have suffered extremely from hunger (want of provisions). All this has occasioned Dost Mahomed Khan to conduct himself very coldly towards me; and then, as he daily (converses) with Burnes, from my arrival here to the 20th of February, I have hardly three times been in his presence. Having discovered from Meerza Abdool Khan, that he, (I do not make out whether Abdool Khan is here meant or Dost Mahomed) had a secret distrust of (or dislike to) English influence (or connection), I endeavored, as much as possible, to strengthen it, and succeeded in shaking his previous confidence in and friendship towards them.

"In the mean time, on the 21st February, was received from Lord Auckland, a reply distinctly (decidedly) to cancel (refuse) all that Burnes had negotiated (or agreed upon); but in his letter (not clearly made out) he does not advise the rulers of Affghanistan to enter upon any alliance with Persia or other powers, that the Affghans were in a great measure indebted for their independence to the support of the English, who restrained Runjeet Sing from conquest. The true cause (reason for) such proceeding of Lord Auckland, as Burnes declares, is the following:—Runjeet, having received from the company a proposal to give up to the Affghans Peshawa, and other conquests, that he would willingly comply with the wishes of the company upon receiving intimation to that effect (some reference here to the territories between the Indus and Cashmere, and securing the succession to his heirs, but I cannot make connected sense of it.) On receiving such proposition from Runjeet, Lord Auckland replied, that in consequence of (or on the occasion) the approach of the Persian Shah to Herat, he decidedly (objects) and advises Runjeet to retain Peshawa, and oppose himself to the movements of the Shah, who, as reported, is resolved to extend his march (or conquests) to the borders of India. Dost Mahomed Khan, abandoning his hopes of assistance on the part of the English, has sent to Candahar (the purport) of the letter received from Lord Auckland, and requested for consultation and coöperation one of the Sirdars of that place. Burnes, on his part, has written to Lieutenant Leech (being) at Candahar, that he should by all means endeavor to dissuade the Sirdars from going to Cabool, and with Dost Mahomed Khan. But the ill-conducted intrigues of Leech have been disclosed, and roused the Sirdar Kohen Khan, and led the Affghans to adopt the contrary course—to join—Dost Mahomed Khan, and break off all connection with them (the English), and place themselves under the

sway of Persia, with the guarantee of Russia; that the Shah should apply (100 m) muskets for the equipment of the Cabool and Candahar army, and that after the taking of Herat, the Shah himself, with his troops, should advance into Affghanistan for the recovery of the provinces conquered by Runjeet. In demonstration of the sincerity of this proposal, the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, and the Sirdar Kohan Khan, — as one of their proceedings. — Meerza Abdool Khan, who not only possesses the entire confidence of Dost Mahomed Khan, but influences all affairs in Affghanistan particularly, — and the Sirdar Mehir Khan. — They request me to set out (in the course of the month) to forward (or obtain) from your lordship, the guarantee — that the Persians shall fulfil the conditions upon which the Affghans agree to submit themselves to the sway of Persia; and for that purpose, I intend leaving Cabool, on the 26th or 27th of April. Capt. Burnes has frequently demanded of Dost Mahomed Khan that I should be immediately dismissed, and that the rulers of Affghanistan should engage not to enter into any negotiations (or relations) with Persia and Russia; but seeing that now affairs have taken entirely another turn, he does not wait for the arrival of his companions, who last autumn went into Toorkistan, and having instructed Lieutenant Leech to proceed from Candahar to Shikarpore and Hyderabad, (where he probably) suspects that the ruler of Sind may enter into the confederations forming between Persia and Affghanistan, he left Cabool on the 19th (or may be 17th) instant, (April;) and went through Peshawer to Lahore. I have the honor to present, for the favorable consideration of your lordship, a brief description of Affghanistan."

It is at this day matter of surprise, that the Indian government should have suffered the negotiation with the Affghan chief to take this turn, and to break off in this manner. It is evident, that Dost Mahomed felt himself in a most embarrassed condition, in danger of being crushed by the great powers on each side of him, and conscious of receiving but a doubtful support from his own subjects. He felt the necessity of some protector, and was disappointed in the coldness of the Governor-General, and alarmed at the extremely guarded and unsatisfactory nature of his promises of support and assistance. He evidently considered the English as entirely in the interest of his inveterate enemy, Runjeet Sing, as they refused to give him any pledge of their good offices for a satisfactory settlement of his differences with that chief, of whom he apparently stood in great dread. It has been said that the Governor-General was influenced by other counsels than those of Captain Burnes; that Mr. Macnaghten, Captain Wade, and others, were opposed to any reliance on Dost Mahomed, and the chiefs of the Baruckzye tribe, on the ground that they were not the lawful sovereigns of the country, and that the hereditary right belonged to the Sudderzye tribe, of whom Shah Shoojah ool-Moolk was the head. It appears, from various declarations of Captain Burnes

in his publications and letters, that he thought favorably of the capacity and character of Dost Mahomed, and of his popularity and influence with his tribe, and in fact regarded him as the only Affghan chief who was capable, without foreign aid, of making his authority respected among the Affghan tribes. He had long before this time expressed himself decidedly as to the incapacity of Shah Shoojah for administering the government or conciliating the good-will of his subjects.

The Governor-General seems to have been impressed with the necessity of an active interposition, to resist the interference of Persia and Russia, and of allying the Indian government with a sovereign in Affghanistan, who should rely exclusively on their support to the exclusion of any dependence on Persia or Russia. The failure of the efforts which had been made by the British government to dissuade the Shah of Persia to desist from his hostile designs against Herat, appears to have convinced him not only of the preponderance of Russian counsels with that sovereign, but of the necessity of taking the field in actual force, to counteract the success of their joint efforts in that quarter.

Captain Burnes arrived at Simla, on the Jumna, where the Governor-General then was, in August. On the 13th of that month, Lord Auckland wrote as follows, to the India Board in London: "I believe it would be useless for me to present to you new proofs, after those which I have already transmitted in my last despatches, of the manifest design of the Russian officers to extend the intervention and authority of their country upon the frontiers of India. The opposition of the Russian ambassador before Herat, an opposition which defeated all the efforts made by Mr. McNeill to restore peace, by means of an arrangement, founded on a just and reasonable basis, between the Shah and the besieged, at the moment when they seemed on the point of succeeding, the assistance given by the Russian ambassador to the sovereign of Persia by advancing money, and the employment of an officer of engineers to direct the labors of the siege, are facts to which it is my duty to call the most serious attention of your board."

When the facts above stated were communicated to the British government, an explanation was demanded from the Russian Court, through the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. That court explicitly denied any intention of disturbing the tranquillity of the British possessions in India. It admitted that a Russian agent had been sent to Cabul, but solely for the purpose of forming commercial relations, and to secure a fair competition for Russian manufactures, in the markets of Central Asia. On another occasion, Count Nesselrode acknowledged to the British ambassador, that Count Simonitch had acted in a manner, of which the British government had a right to complain, and that he had therefore been recalled.

The India government came to the resolution of supporting the claim of Shah Shoojah to the throne of Cabul, and that of Runjeet Sing for the restoration of the province which had been conquered by him, and in consequence a tripartite treaty was entered into between the three parties, for carrying this purpose into effect. It was stipulated that Herat should remain in possession of its present ruler; that for the restoration of Shah Shoojah to the sovereignty of Candahar and Cabul, he was to enter Affghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and supported by a British army; and that an army of Sikhs should invade the province of Peshawer. The treaty contained various other stipulations, and on the 1st of October a public declaration was issued by the Governor-General, in which the purpose of the Indian government, of arresting the progress of foreign aggression, was announced. A powerful force was assembled on the Jumna, in Bengal, and placed under the command of Sir Henry Fane; but before it had commenced its march, news was received of the raising of the siege of Herat, in consequence of which the plan of operations was somewhat changed.

It was resolved to send forward the army of the Indus in two divisions, under the command of Sir John Keane, the commander-in-chief at Bombay. The Bengal division proceeded from the Jumna to the Sutledge, descended the left bank of that river to the Indus, and thence to Shikarpore, on the confines of Sind, whence it proceeded by the Bolan Pass to Candahar, in the heart of Affghanistan. The Bombay division proceeded by the mouths of the Indus, and was obliged to fight its way, — the Ameers of Sind having refused their permission to its passing through their territory. The army marched upon Hyderabad, and took possession of that city without serious resistance. It subsequently captured Kouratchee, the richest city in Sind. A treaty was then entered into with the Ameers, by which the latter agreed to make an immediate payment of £300,000, to abolish the tolls on the Indus, and to pay a heavy tribute to the British government. Several other treaties were entered into with the petty princes, for the promotion of trade with that country. On the 14th of February, 1839, the Bengal division crossed the Indus at Bukkor on a bridge of boats, it being the first time that a British army had passed to the left bank of this noble river. About the middle of March, the whole army, including the contingent at Shah Shoojah, which formed the central division, assembled at Shikarpore. From this place the army proceeded by way of Dadur, through the Bolan Pass to Quetta, and thence to Candahar. The march was a most arduous one, from the difficulties of the route. The commander-in-chief established his head-quarters with the advance column at Quetta on the 5th of April, receiving the command from

Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton. He complimented him on the judicious manner in which he had conducted the march of the Bengal column over the great distance from Ferozpoore, including the crossing of the Indus, and especially the manner in which he surmounted the difficulties in the march from Shikarpore to Dadur, and the passage through the Bolan Pass, with artillery, cavalry, and infantry, which had arrived in Affghanistan in highly creditable order. On the 4th of May, Sir John Keane established his head-quarters at Candahar, which city he entered without resistance. In general orders, issued on this occasion, the commander-in-chief compliments the troops for the manner in which they accomplished the march, in the following terms: "The combined forces of Bengal and Bombay being now assembled at Candahar, the commander-in-chief congratulates all ranks on the triumphant though arduous march, which they have accomplished from distant and distinct parts of India, with a regularity and discipline which is much appreciated by him, and reflects upon themselves the highest credit. The difficulties which have been surmounted have been of no ordinary nature, and the recollection of what has been overcome must hereafter be a pleasing reflection to those concerned, who have so zealously, and in so soldier-like a manner, contributed to effect them, so as to arrive at the desired end. The engineers had to make roads, and, occasionally, in some extraordinary steep mountain passes, over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science and much severe labor; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertions and good spirit of the artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, both European and native, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance, that each man was working for a favorite object of his own." Notwithstanding the general success with which the march was accomplished, it suffered heavy losses from sickness and fatigue, and from the depredations of marauding parties of the natives. Between Gundava and Dadur, the Beloochees hung upon them, flank and rear, and swept off the camels and baggage. These marauders were well mounted, and carried a sabre in addition to a dagger and gun. One of their means of annoyance was to dam up the rivers, and to compel the troops to march through the water. In the Bolan Pass they were compelled to abandon many of their tents, and lost many of their camels. They suffered also from the scarcity and bad quality of provisions, and so much were the officers and men reduced by bad diet and hard duty, that one of the pressing wants of the army was a deficiency of tailors "to reduce clothes, and take in sword-belts." In the fertile and healthy valleys

of Candahar, at an elevation of 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, the soldiers were soon recruited from their fatigues.

Shah Shoojah was received in a friendly manner, and on the 8th of May he was crowned as king of Affghanistan, with due ceremonies. The troops remained at Candahar for repose for several weeks. The army at length resumed its march, and arrived before Ghizni on the 21st of July. This was found to be an extremely strong fortress and citadel, garrisoned by 3,500 Affghans, under the command of Mahomed Hyder, the son of Dost Mahomed Khan, with a large number of guns, and with an abundance of ammunition and stores provided for sustaining a regular siege. A large body of troops, under the command of Mahomed Ubzal Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mahomed, was also encamped outside of the walls, including 1,500 horse, under two chiefs of the Ghilzee tribe. On reconnoitering the place, it was determined to carry it by storm, and this determination was carried into effect on the following day. At 3 o'clock in the morning, preparation having been made, by laying down powder in the face of a steady fire from the enemy, and for a simultaneous attack upon the fortress, the Cabul gate was blown in by a tremendous explosion, and an opening was made, through which a column, led by Brigadier-General Sale, obtained a footing on the inside of the fortress, although opposed by the Affghar soldiers with great strength, and in the most desperate manner. A fire was kept up for some time, but the resistance was without avail. Entire possession was obtained of the fortress, with the loss of about 200 men killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was great, about 500 being killed. Sir John Keane highly complimented his officers and men for their gallant conduct in this action.

On the 30th and 31st, the army began its march from Ghizni upon Cabul in two columns, accompanied by his Majesty Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, with his own troops, forming part of the second column. On the third day of the month information was received, that Dost Mahomed with his army, including the division of his son, Mahomed Akhbar, who had been withdrawn from Jellalabad and the defence of the Khyber Pass, amounting in all to 13,000 men, with artillery, was strongly posted at Urghundee, 24 miles in advance of Cabul. Arrangements were made for attacking him, when in the course of the night messengers arrived, and on the following morning a great many chiefs, with the information that Dost Mahomed's army was broken up, in consequence of the refusal of a great part of his troops to stand by him; and that, in consequence, he had fled with 300 horsemen in the direction of Bamian, whither he had previously sent his family and most valuable property, leaving his guns behind him loaded, in position as they had been placed for the attack of the ad-

vancing column at Urghundee. Shah Shoojah immediately sent forward a confidential officer, with a small party of troops, to take possession in the king's name of the guns, and the public stores there, as well as at Cabul, and the Bala Hissar, a citadel of Cabul. A strong party was also detached in pursuit of Dost Mahomed. The army continued to advance, and on the 7th of August the King entered his capital, accompanied by the British Envoy and the gentlemen of his mission, by the commander-in-chief, generals, and staff officers of the British forces, escorted by a squadron of British troops. After traversing the principal streets, and reaching the palace in the Bala Hissar, a royal salute was fired, with an additional salvo in the Affghan style, from small guns called jingalls, carried on camels. The British army was encamped in the vicinity of the city. A large portion of the troops who deserted Dost Mahomed enlisted in the service of Shah Shoojah, and were received into his pay.

At this moment, the prospects of Shah Shoojah appear to have been brighter than at any previous or subsequent period. A letter, dated on the day of the reception of the news of the flight of Dost Mahomed, says, "thousands of Affghans have been coming in to tender their allegiance to his Majesty, who is in the greatest spirits at this pacific termination of the campaign, and says that God has now granted all his wishes." The fact, that only 300 persons had been induced to follow the late ruler, was regarded as a most favorable omen. What was before suspected, however, was soon proved, that the new sovereign had not the capacity to acquire the confidence, and command the respect and obedience of his subjects, and that he could sustain his power only by foreign aid. On the outset of the expedition, in execution of the treaty between him and the British Indian government, he was authorized to raise a military force in India of 1,000 cavalry and horse-artillery, and five regiments of infantry of 800 men each, to be commanded by British officers. The command of the whole was given to Col. E. H. Simpson. He was permitted to raise this force by voluntary enlistment from the other regiments in India; but his want of popularity and bad reputation were such, that it was found difficult to raise the necessary contingent, although the pay of the troops appears to have been guarantied by the British Indian government. His army suffered heavy losses from sickness and fatigue on the march. The reputation of Dost Mahomed for talent and courage stood much higher than that of his competitor. Dost Mahomed made his escape to Bokhara, where he was permitted to reside with his family by the king of that country, under a sort of surveillance; but in the subsequent winter, being suspected of an intention to make his escape, he was made a close prisoner, as were also his two sons. He was subsequently transferred to India, where

he continued to reside, mostly at Loodiana, under some sort of restraint, until the occurrence of the recent events.

Runjeet Sing, in pursuance of the tripartite treaty, sent an army, which had entered the valley of Peshawer, but had not entered the Khyber Pass at the time of the entry of the allied army into Cabul. Soon after, the news of the death of the Rajah, which happened on the 27th of June, reached his army in Affghanistan, upon which the Sikh troops abandoned the expedition, and returned to Lahore. The funeral of Runjeet Sing was celebrated with great pomp, and his ashes were conveyed in solemn procession from Lahore, to be distributed in the sacred Ganges, at Hurdwar. Serious difficulties had been apprehended on the death of this sovereign, from the peculiar condition of his family; but the difficulty was postponed for a short period. The succession devolved on his son, Kurruck Sing, a man of weak intellect, while the management of affairs devolved on the son of the latter, Nao Nihil Sing, a man of an eccentric and unprincipled character. Kurruck Sing died in the following year, not without suspicion of poison, and in returning from his funeral his son was killed, by the falling of a beam of wood upon him, as he was passing an archway. The final succession has not been definitively settled, and in the mean time the extent to which British influence will prevail in this country remains to be determined.

Shah Shoojah being, as was then hoped, firmly established on his throne, Sir John Keane detached a part of his troops, in addition to the contingent of the Shah, to remain in Affghanistan, and with the residue returned to India. The troops which remained consisted of two divisions, one stationed at Cabul and Jellalabad, under the command of General Sale, and the other under General Nott, at Candahar and Quetta. Mr. McNaghten remained at Cabul, in the capacity of Envoy at the court of Shah Shoojah, and Captain Burnes as political agent. In reward for their services in the expedition to Affghanistan, Sir John Keane was made a peer by the title of Baron Keane of Ghizni, in Affghanistan, and baronetcies were conferred on Mr. McNaghten, Colonel Pottinger, and Captain Burnes.

It soon became apparent that the new sovereign possessed no great capacity for government, or for commanding the attachment or confidence of his subjects. Letters received from time to time from Affghanistan, expressed freely the opinion, that he must rely solely for support upon British troops. The number of troops in that country under the command of British officers, including the contingent of Shah Shoojah, was about 7,000; and it was doubted whether these were sufficient for preserving tranquillity. Indeed, there were frequent outbreaks, which required the interposition of the troops, and insurrections among some particular tribes, which it cost much effort to put down.

In July, 1840, the Bombay Times, in speaking of the state of things in that country, remarks as follows: "The accounts of the conduct and condition of Shah Shoojah, continue the same as formerly; that his habits are those of a haughty, silly, sensual, confirmed reprobate, totally unworthy of British countenance or protection; who, the moment that our forces were withdrawn from the country, would become the deserved victim of his own outraged subjects, by whom he is held in equal hatred and derision."

The winter of 1839, '40, was severe in Affghanistan. The snow fell in January at Cabul to the depth of five feet, and the weather was extremely cold. A letter from that place of Feb. 18 says, that the frost had continued unmelted through the winter, and that there had been beautiful skating. A large convoy of 2,000 troops, under command of Col. Wallace, with money and ammunition loading 500 camels, and with provisions, left Bengal for Cabul, by way of Lahore and the Sikh territory. There were not less than 2,000 camels in the convoy, and 4,000 camp followers. It was accompanied by 30 or 40 British officers, and several families, among whom were Lady Sale and daughter. The convoy reached the Chenab about the end of February, and arrived at Jellalabad on the 18th of February, having been met at Peshawer by Sir Robert Sale, and getting through the Kyber Pass, between the two cities, in four days. The 37th and 48th regiments of native infantry had been despatched from Jellalabad, to escort them through the Pass, it being understood that the Kyberries were rising *en masse* for the purpose of attacking the convoy.

From this period to the sudden breaking out of hostilities in the autumn of 1841, the state of affairs in Affghanistan did not undergo any very material change. The conduct of the king was not such as to inspire any increased confidence, and the discontent of the native tribes, or of their chiefs, frequently displayed itself in outbreaks, which led to collisions between them and portions of the British troops, and which, in a number of instances, were attended with considerable loss. Still, there was no indication of any approaching general outbreak of the people, or any extensive conspiracy against either the power of the sovereign, or the British troops. During this period several convoys, with reinforcements of troops and supplies of money, ammunition, and provisions, arrived in the country, both by way of Bengal, the Mahrattah country, and Peshawer, and by way of Sinde, the Bolan Pass, Quetta, and Candahar. The force of the two divisions of British troops was considerably augmented.

At the time of the breaking out of the insurrection, there were resident at Cabul Sir W. H. Macnaghten, the British Envoy, and Lieut. Col. Alexander Burnes, Political Agent, Major General Elphinstone,

Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, and Brigadier Anguétil, commanding the troops of Shah Shoojah. The British troops stationed there as auxiliary to the forces of the Shah, were not in the city, but in cantonments at a distance of five miles from the town. These troops consisted of the 44th regiment of the line British troops, the 5th, 37th, and 54th regiments native infantry, containing from 700 to 900 men each, Anderson's regiment of horse, a troop of European horse artillery, 6 companies of sappers and miners, and 6 troops of the 5th light cavalry, and one regiment of the Shah's troops. The commissariat stores of the army were in small forts, detached from the principal cantonment of the troops. The number of British troops, the greater part consisting of the India regiments, and hardly capable of action during the cold season, was about 5,500, of whom 1,100 were cavalry. There were attendant upon the army a great number of followers, men and women, who either came with the army or followed with the successive convoys, to a greater number than the army itself.

Major General Sir Robert H. Sale was at Jellalabad, with the 13th regiment of light infantry, the 35th native infantry, and detachments from the artillery, and sappers, and miners, having been engaged during nearly the whole of the preceding month in an attempt to open the Khoord Cabul Pass, between that place and Cabul, which was occupied by hostile bands of Ghilzees, and other tribes, who entirely cut off the communication between the two cities, and also the communication between Cabul and India. This was accomplished as far as Gurdanuck, by a succession of actions, in which considerable loss was sustained, and in one of which the Major General was wounded.

Major General Nott was in command of the southern division of the army in Affghanistan, and was at Candahar with a strong force, consisting of the 40th British regiment, the 2d and 38th native infantry, and the 2d and 4th regiments of the Shah's contingent. These troops were furnished with sufficient supplies of provisions to serve them until spring. At Ghizni there was one regiment, the 27th native infantry, under Col. Palmer, garrisoning the strong citadel at that place, furnished with provisions, as was supposed, for six months.

"The insurrection, which is described as participating in a great measure of the religious enthusiasm, to which the fanatical Moslems can be excited by the preaching of their Imauns, broke out on the night of the 1st of November, when Sir Alexander Burnes, and his brother, and Captain Bradfoot of the 44th were killed, the house of the first named, being within the city, was plundered; and some money in the treasury of Captain Johnson, which was close to the former house, was

made a prey of. The captain, having slept in the British cantonments, escaped the slaughter, as well as Brigadier Anguetil and Captain Troup, who were his inmates. Captains Skinner and Drummond, Captain Trevor, and his lady and his children, remained for some days concealed in the city, by some of their friends.

"Shah Shoojah, who had on the 2d sent his son to the relief of Sir Alexander Burnes, where the Prince performed prodigies of valor, received on that day a communication from Sir W. H. McNaghton, then in the cantonment, about five miles from the town, requesting leave for Brigadier-General Skelton with two regiments, and Captain Nicholl's troop, to enter the Balla Hissar, and to shell the town. Leave was given, and the shelling took place. The infuriated populace attacked the Commissariat Fort, which lay immediately to the north of the town, between it and the cantonment, and as it was weakly defended, soon became masters of it. This was a dreadful blow to the troops, as at the time there was flour but for two days remaining in the cantonment. Another fort, in which some commissariat stores were kept, was also attacked, and after a defence of three days by Captain Mackenzie and a few men, taken also. A panic appeared to have seized the troops, who found themselves in the beginning of winter shut up in their cantonments, in a valley 200 miles from the Indus, without sufficient clothing or food, and amidst a fanatical Mussulman population. Even between the British leaders a difference of opinion prevailed; the Envoy being desirous of offensive measures, while Gen. Elphinstone, from circumstances connected with the forces, among whom despondency and vacillation are described as then prevailing, maintained his opinion for defensive ones. At the solicitation of the Envoy, some small forts in the neighborhood, which contained grain, were captured. In the mean time the news of the dispersion of several of the Afghan corps in Shah Shoojah's service, commanded by British officers, reached the besieged, and contributed to add to their gloomy prognostics. Various reverses and successes followed during some days. The troops from the Balla Hissar were recalled to the cantonment, and the Envoy urged a decided attack on the enemy; the General, however, maintained that all such attacks would be futile; the soldiers began to despond, and all was misery. There were, nevertheless, skirmishes every day, which did not tend to raise the spirits of the sepoys and soldiers, who saw their enemy hourly increase, while they themselves had scarcely food, and but insufficient raiment for the season. So greatly were they dispirited, that they were one day driven back to their camp, after they had during three hours been exposed to a galling fire. The Ghilzee Chief, Osman Khan, did not choose to pursue them within their intrenchments, where they, it was then feared, would have made a feeble resistance. Their provision was flour, which they obtained by bribery during the night. It was then recommended that all the troops should be concentrated in the Balla Hissar. Captain Conolly, who was then with the Shah, advocated the propriety of so doing; but the military authorities declared the move-

ment impossible, as they could not rely upon the disheartened troops. The last regiment was then withdrawn from the Balla Hissar, which is, as every one knows, a citadel on a hill to the eastward of the town, and Shah Shoojah was left to his own resources.

"The insurgents, who were aware of the movement of succor from Candahar, now appeared disposed to enter upon negotiations for the withdrawal of the British troops. The Envoy, on hearing of the retreat of the Candahar brigade, and learning that no aid could be expected from General Sale, then at Jellalabad, or from the Indus, gave a reluctant assent. Conferences took place, and a long list of articles, drawn up in Persian, by Sir W. H. McNaghton, was agreed to on both sides. They are said to exceed twenty in number.

"The second and favorite son of Dost Mahomed, Mahomed Akhbar Khan, who, subsequent to his father's surrender, had remained in concealment, and had even escaped beyond the confines of Affghanistan, having made his appearance during the insurrection, took a decided part in the negotiation. The insurgent chiefs exhibited great willingness to have the British troops removed from Cabul, and arrangements are said to have been made for that purpose at different meetings, which were held outside the cantonments. After various parleys, a message was, on the 22d of December, brought from Akhbar Khan to Sir W. H. McNaghton, to request an interview on the following morning. The British Envoy went thither, accompanied by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie. They had not been present five minutes, when a signal was given, and all were seized and forced to mount behind some Ghilzee chiefs. The British Envoy resisted, and was slain, as was also Captain Trevor, who had slipped off the horse on which he had been placed. Their murderers are now said to be "Ghazees," or religious enthusiasts, who fight as soldiers for "the sake of God," and who, if killed in battle, are called "Shuhdees," or martyrs. The treatment of Sir W. H. McNaghton's body has been described as most barbarous. His lady is stated to have offered a large sum for its ransom, in order to its being decently interred. The other two officers were saved by the dread of the Ghazees to fire at them, lest the Ghilzees, who rode before them, should be wounded. They returned to the cantonment on the 28th. Akhbar Khan has, it appears, boasted of his having in person killed Sir W. H. McNaghton.

"Maj. Pottinger, well known since the defence of Herat, took charge of the British mission, and the negotiations for the withdrawal of the troops were continued. On the 6th of January they moved from their cantonments, which were instantly seized by the insurgents and burnt. The snow was one foot deep on the ground, when the troops reached Begrooma, three miles distant. The schemes of Akhbar Khan then became evident: he had despatched emissaries throughout the country through which the unfortunate British soldiers had to pass, calling on the people to rise *en masse* and slay the infidels. His call was not heard in vain. On the first day's march Cornet Hardyman, of the 5th Cavalry, and some men were killed. Mahomed Akhbar Khan, who

had taken charge of the retreat, contrived to induce the British to take up stations at night where he chose. On the 7th they moved to Bareekhar, where the three mountain guns were seized. Their rear guard were obliged to act on the defensive during the whole of the day. On the 8th the camp was nearly surrounded by enemies, and it became evident that the British soldiers would have to fight their way to Jellalabad. Captain Skinner went to Mahomed Akhbar Khan, who was on a hill close to the British camp, and inquired why they could not proceed according to the convention. The reply was, that they had left the Cabul cantonments before the troops destined to protect them were ready, and that no chief but he (Akhbar Khan) had the means or power to protect them, notwithstanding their convention.

"This military convention is not fully known, and therefore all its provisions cannot be stated. It is pretended, that among the articles there are some declaring, that all the British troops were to evacuate Affghanistan, and that notice of such a convention had been sent to General Nott at Candahar, and to General Sale at Jellalabad. It is said to have been signed by General Elphinstone as Commander-in-Chief, and by Major Pottinger as acting Political Agent, and also by Brigadier Skelton, Brigadier Anguetil, and Colonel Chambers.

"Akhbar Khan, whose violent hatred to the British had been sharpened, not only by the conquest of his father's territories, but by his own exile and subsequent imprisonment in Bokhara, and by his wild fanaticism, demanded then, on the third day of the retreat from Cabul, that the British should, when surrounded by the Ghazees under his command, make new terms with him, and promise not to proceed further than Tazeen, until the withdrawal of the force under Sir R. Sale from Jellalabad was known, and he insisted on six hostages. Major Pottinger, who was lame from a wound, instantly offered to be one, and at Akhbar Khan's orders Captain M'Kenzie and Lawrence were included. The Ghazees were, however, not restrained in their attacks, and a fearful slaughter followed on the movement towards Khoord Cabul. The column was attacked on all sides. The fourteen ladies who were in the centre seemed objects of special desire. Mrs. Anderson and Mrs. Boyd had each a child carried off. Akhbar Khan, while the Ghazees were thus busy, professed his inability to restrain them, and on the 9th of January demanded that the ladies should be placed under his protection. The miserable weather, the snowy wastes, the rough mountain tracks, and the month of January in the coldest regions of Central Asia, compelled them to yield. The hostages halted for some days in that neighborhood.

"The demand on General Sale to relinquish his post was made on the 9th of January, and on that day he refused to do so unless by orders from the Supreme Government. This answer was taken back to Akhbar Khan. The unfortunate Sepoys began again to move, and were again assailed; the Sepoys, who form such good soldiers under the broiling sun of India, being enervated and stupified by the cold, scarcely offered any resistance, and hundreds of them were soon despatched

by the Ghazee cut-throats, but the Europeans and some brave men kept together until they reached the pass of Jugdulluk. Here General Elphinstone and Brigadier Skelton became hostages, and were detained two miles distant by Akhbar. General Elphinstone wrote a note in pencil to Brigadier Anguetil: "March to-night; there is treachery." The British troops marched early in the night; they came to the frightful mountain pass; it was barricaded; they forced the way, and reached Jugdulluk, which they defended some time, until Brigadier Anguetil was killed. All order was then lost, and confusion and separation, slaughter and destruction ensued. Several officers, who were well mounted, attempted to make good their way into Jellalabad. Some of them arrived within three or four miles, when they were murdered and plundered, and their bodies left on the road. Only one officer, Doctor Brydon, of the 5th Bengal Native Infantry, though wounded in several places and exhausted, succeeded in reaching the place of safety in Jellalabad on the 13th. Of the fate of the other 4,000 soldiers and 6,000 camp followers, nothing certain is known: many have been killed, others are dispersed, and as yet it is difficult to decide. The names of thirty-five officers have been published as killed from the commencement of the insurrection, but fears are entertained that it may amount to its quadruple, out of the great number missing. Some of the sepoys are said to have been sold as slaves to the Oosbeg Tartars.

"Letters continue to arrive from various quarters, representing the state of the prisoners and hostages. Akhbar Khan is said in a letter received from Major Pottinger, dated January 23, to be at the fort of Badeeabad, in the Lughman country, where he keeps the following prisoners, viz.: General Elphinstone and Skelton, Lieutenant M'Kenzie, Captain and Mrs. Anderson and child, Captain Boyd, Lieut. Eye, Lieut. Waller, Mrs. Trevor, Lady Sale, Lady M'Naghton, Mrs. Sturt, Mr. and Mrs. Ryley, Sergeant and Mrs. Wade, Captains Troop, Johnson, and G. P. Lawrence, and Major Pottinger. There are, besides, the six officers and the sick, who were left at Cabul on the departure of the troops. Akhbar Khan, in the letters from that fort, which are received unsealed, is described as doing every thing 'to make them comfortable!'

"An attempt of the insurgents to seize Ghizni is said to be so far successful, as that the town is in their power; but Colonel Palmer, with his regiment and six months' provisions, is stated to be safe in the citadel. At Candahar an insurgent force showed itself on the 10th of January, when an attempt was made to carry off the camels belonging to the 43d Bengal Native Infantry. On the 11th, Prince Suftur Jung, the youngest and favorite son of Shah Soojah, and Mahomed Atta, the chief, came with a large force within about five miles distance. General Nott marched against them on the 12th, and in a short time dispersed the whole with a trifling loss; the young Prince proved himself a coward, as he is a traitor to his father's friends.

"General Sale has, however, maintained his position at Jellalabad,

which he has fortified with a ditch, and planted cannon in different places, with a determination to defend his position to the utmost. Akhbar Khan has attempted to raise the Oolooses, or heads of the neighboring clans, in order to attack Jellalabad, but the gallantry and resolution displayed by Sir Robert Sale in October, during his march from Cabul to Jellalabad, have given them such proofs of his bravery that they have hitherto rather hesitated. The troops in Jellalabad are stated to be well provided with food, and able to keep their ground until the beginning of March, particularly as they have already discomfited two contemplated attacks.

"The celebrated mountain pass, called the Khyber, lies between Jellalabad and Peshawer, and the inhabitants, who are in possession, have been long notorious for their plundering propensities. Akhbar Khan sent to offer money to induce them to resist not only the departure of the troops under General Sale, but also the entry of all the troops which may be called by the Supreme Government to relieve the garrison at Jellalabad. The Khyberrees are said to be highly incensed at the small sum offered for their concurrence in his plans by Akhbar Khan. It was not more than 1,500 rupees. They, however, have made preparations to resist on their own account, and a brigade, under the command of Colonel Wild, which was sent from the Sutledge early in December, having reached Peshawer, made an attempt to force the pass. Having left their artillery behind in India, and the only guns procurable in that direction being unserviceable ones from the Sikhs, the attempt made by Colonel Wild was unsuccessful. Two regiments penetrated to the fort of Ali Musjid, where a British garrison was stationed; but, as they found neither provisions nor ammunition there, they were obliged to retreat towards Peshawer, having lost an officer and some men. In the mean time the Supreme Government has not been idle. General Pollock has been despatched at the head of a considerable reinforcement towards Peshawer, which he with sufficient guns and abundant ammunition reached on the 7th ult., and is now making preparations for proceeding through the Khyber pass."

When Sir R. Sale learned the state of affairs at Cabul, he resolved on securing Jellalabad, and defending it until succor should arrive from India. Reinforcements were expected, and in fact four regiments of infantry were on the way, and arrived at Peshawer on the 30th of December. Had they proceeded immediately, they might probably have reached Jellalabad through the Khyber Pass, without serious opposition. But they made a long halt at Peshawer, and in the mean time the enemy approached and occupied the passes. The troops at Jellalabad were busily occupied, working seven hours per day without remission, strengthening the defences of the place, being on short allowance for provisions, with a short supply of ammunition, and destitute of money. On the 9th of January, three messengers arrived, bringing an order from Major General Elphinstone to Gen-

eral Sale to retire immediately with his brigade to Peshawer. This order General Sale declined, for the present at least, to obey, on the supposition that it was given when under restraint. Brigadier-General Wild advanced with the four regiments from Peshawer as far as Junrood, and on the 16th of January the 64th and 53d regiments were ordered forward to Ali Musjid, 16 miles into the Whylia Pass, towards Jellalabad. They set out at 10 o'clock at night, and by a forced march arrived at Ali Musjid by 8 o'clock in the morning, their purpose not having been anticipated by the enemy, and took the fort by surprise, with slight resistance, one officer and twelve men being wounded. They were, however, without provisions, except what they carried on their backs, being a four days' supply, which, by being put on a half allowance, was made to last for eight days. They were also without tents, and without shelter, exposed to continual rains, in a temperature below freezing. Two other regiments attempted to follow, with artillery, sappers, miners, &c.; but the Khyberrees were on the lookout, manned the passes, and to force them was impossible. On the 25th, the two advanced regiments having exhausted their provisions, sallied out from their miserable fort, and made good their retreat in the same manner as they had effected their advance, exposed to the continual fire of the enemy, from which they sustained a heavy loss of near 200 in killed and wounded in each regiment.

There are other accounts of these disasters, which vary in some particulars from the foregoing. There are many other details, some of which give the affair a more terrific aspect even than is presented in this narration. Much yet remains to be related, and much to be explained. The supreme government at Calcutta, on receiving intelligence of these appalling events, gave notice that the most active measures would be immediately adopted and steadfastly prosecuted, for expediting strong reinforcements to the Affghan frontier, and for assisting such operations as might be required in that quarter, for the maintenance of the power and interest of the British government. It was announced that all the military means at the disposal of the government, would be applied to these objects. For strengthening the British force in India, the government at home has sent out reinforcements, increasing the force of all the Queen's infantry regiments in India to 1,000 rank and file each, recruited by volunteers from the line at home, who were permitted to transfer themselves in certain proportions, receiving a bounty of 30s. per man. Besides these recruits, there were sent from England in transport ships, five regiments of 1,000 men each, in the 10th foot, 78th Highlanders, 29th, 84th, and 86th, all which sailed in the month of April. One regiment, the 25th, was also ordered from the Cape of Good Hope.

All regular communication with the officers in Affghanistan is cut off, and very little official information appears to have been received since the breaking out of the insurrection. The route by the Bolan Pass was not entirely obstructed by the enemy, but communication by it must be extremely precarious. Accounts, above alluded to, have been received, by way of Delhi and Calcutta, from Jellalabad, to Jan. 25. Letters had been received there at that date, from Major Pottinger and Captain Lawrence, who with others were held as hostages to be exchanged for the Ameer Dost Mahomed. These and other officers from the fort Badeeabad, in the Lughman country, were distributed at the houses and forts of the different men of rank, and with the exception that they were allowed little intercourse with one another, were treated with consideration, and even kindness. The authority of these letters on this point has been somewhat suspected, from the fact that they were despatched open, and the writers must have been aware, that their contents would become known to the enemy.

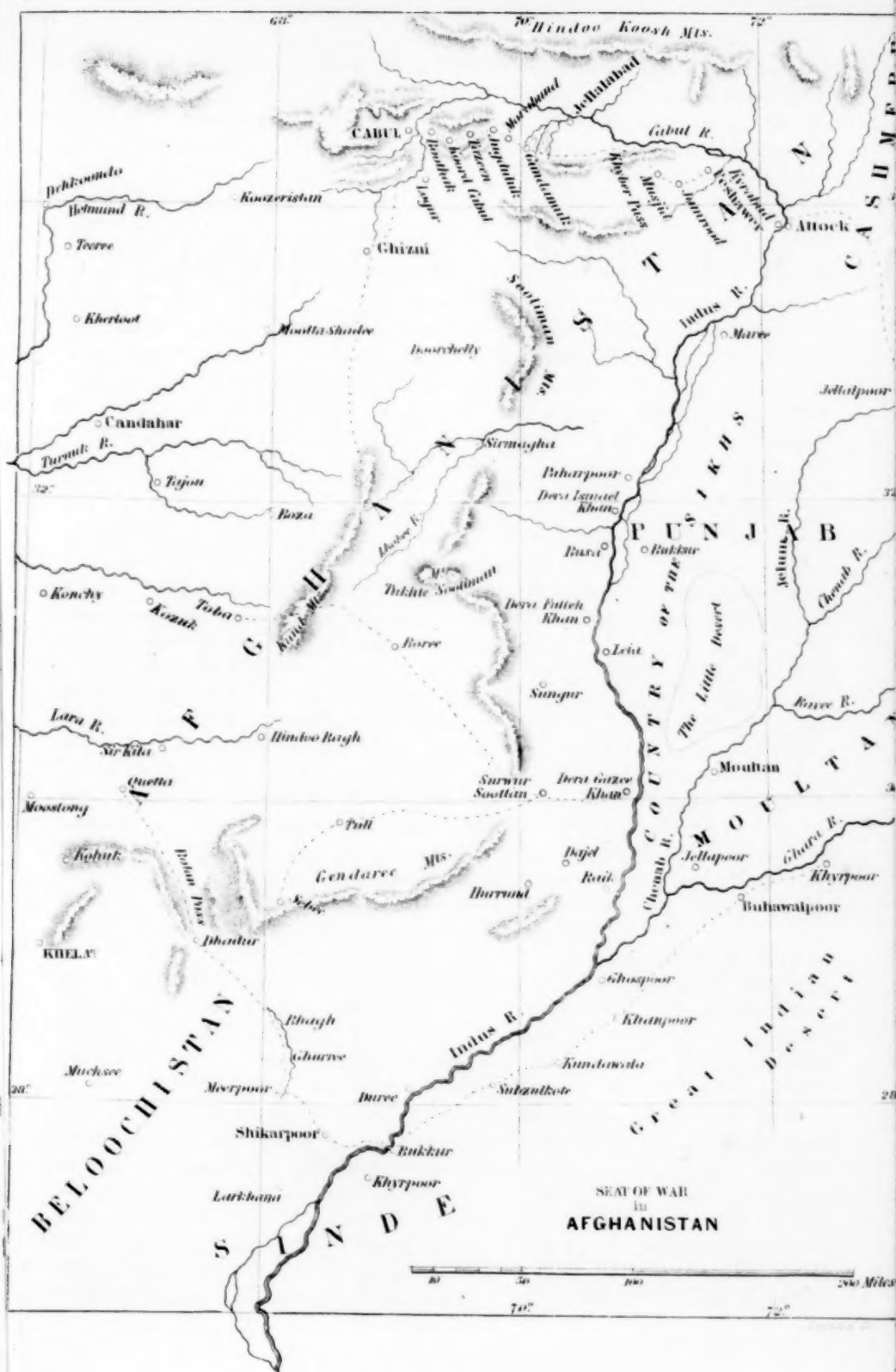
Dost Mahomed, at the date of the last accounts from India, was at Loodiana, in Hindostan, under guard of a company of soldiers, who had strict orders to prevent his escape. His cousin Mahomed Abzul, or Abdool, had recently made his escape. It was said that Dost strenuously denied any participation in the proceedings of his son Akhbar Khan. The family of Akhbar, including two sons, besides females, were at Loodianah. Further information from Affghanistan is awaited with anxiety.

M I S C E L L A N Y .

THE APOCRYPHAL NAPOLEON.*

No one ever reads history without thinking with wonder how small are the contingencies on which its most important events turn. The hesitation of a moment has been enough to decide the fate of empires for years. It is natural that we should pause sometimes to imagine

* *Napoléon Apocryphe. Histoire de la Conquête de la Monde et de la Monarchie Universelle, par Louis Geoffroy. Poussons jusqu'au bout la gloire humaine par cet exemple.* BOSSUET. Paulin, Paris.



what might have happened, if one of these little stones in the current of time had not turned the direction of the stream. A small majority only in the councils of the pilgrim fathers of New England voted for the emigration to "Virginia," against a minority which wished to turn to the sunnier savannahs of Guiana. Where and what should we of New England be now if they had been disposed to vote on the other side? The dauphin of France, a prince, himself the heir of the finest kingdom of Europe, was married to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. That dauphin, had he lived, would have been the head of a race of princes, who would have ruled by hereditary right France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. *If* he had lived, what would be the European history of the last two hundred and fifty years? A British minister happened to see a wealthy Virginian risk large sums at play, and he conceived the idea of recruiting his suffering exchequer by the taxation of his transatlantic colonies. Where would the United States of America be now, if he had spent that evening at a cabinet dinner, instead of sitting by a hazard-table? Such questions are readily asked. No one can read history attentively, without being constantly tempted to ask them. They are not so easily answered, however; answered, we mean, so as to preserve the appearance of consistency or plausibility. We have but very few instances of what can properly be called imaginary history; of an historical account following directly after real history, and preserving its appearance.

The curious French book, the name of which stands at the head of this article, is one of these few instances. Actuated, as he tells us, by a desire to show of what man's genius is capable, what he might effect were he not constantly thwarted by the caprices of fate, the author has given us the history of some of the leading events in the world's history, as he supposes *they would have happened*, if Napoleon had been victorious over the Russian arms after the fall of Moscow. The attempt is a bold one, and bravely executed. M. Geoffroy, without the advantage of having piles of facts for reference at his elbow, has written a history much more plausible and consistent than many books, which have been founded on a more tangible basis.

As we have said, M. Geoffroy makes Napoleon conquer Russia. Spain and Portugal are next subdued, and the conquest of England crowns the next year's campaign. The expulsion of Mahmoud and his army from European Turkey, and the nomination of a mayor of the commune of San Marino, in the arondissement of Rimini, make Napoleon sovereign of Europe. Those parts of Asia which had not been dependent on Russia and England are next made to submit by a religious crusade led by the Emperor in person; his immense fleet makes him master of the Ocean and its islands; corps d'armée under his most noted generals march through Africa almost without opposition, and finally the States of America, wearied by their constant internal dissensions, agree in congress at Panama to submit themselves and their constitutions to Napoleon, who is thus, fifteen years after the conflagration of Moscow, made *sovereign of the world*. Such is a gen-

eral account of the progress of his conquest. We prefer to let the book speak for itself, than to attempt to make any analysis of its contents. We shall, therefore, trust to our translations of different passages from it to give an idea of the details of the advances towards universal monarchy, and of the results which attended it.

The following chapter, from the opening of the book, is spirited; the prediction with which it closes, tallies but too well with the results of more authentic history. The account begins immediately after Napoleon's entrance into the deserted Moscow.

"Napoleon was always glad to sleep in the beds of other kings, and establish himself in palaces, from which his appearance had driven them. Having ordered the army to take up its quarters in the suburbs, he went himself directly to the Kremlin, and there, in the evening, he walked on the highest towers, silent and alone, contemplating the deathlike quiet of the city at night. All was depressing and sad to so active a mind as his. He saw his army stretched along in the suburbs, a deep silence reigning in the city, and repose every where, excepting in a few palaces, which seemed animated by the presence of generals who had taken up their quarters in them. All that could be heard was an occasional Scythian cry, sounding from place to place at intervals, as if of persons replying to each other.

"The clocks struck midnight. The horizon grew red; flames rose from the midst of the town; the bazaar had taken fire, then the churches, the houses, the suburbs; the fires shot up every where; Moscow reappeared in the night all glowing with fiery domes and spires of flame.

"The Emperor understood this disaster; he remembered Wilna, Smolenska, and the burning villages which had lighted up his march. "Let it die then," he cried; and gave orders that the army should immediately leave the infernal city. The soldiers had been roused before. The cry of "fire" resounded on all sides, but only from French lips. The first night's sleep in the conquered town was disturbed by the terrors of a conflagration.

"His orders were executed. At five o'clock in the morning, the troops filed out of Moscow, and reascended the slope of Mount Salvation. The videttes, having advanced as far as Petrowski, the palace of the Czars, prepared it for the Emperor, who proceeded thither with his staff; and, observing a large chateau half a league further on, he sent forward General Kirgener with his engineers to fortify this position.

"But, while in full sight of the chateau, and only a few musket shots from it, they saw clouds of smoke bursting from it, followed by flame, with slight explosions. This magnificent dwelling, enveloped in every part, became at once only one immense body of fire. In the distance, carriages were observed hastening from it with all speed. General Kirgener gave orders that they should be pursued, but they were so far in advance that the attempt failed; and they had escaped his troops when they fell in with a body of French. These surrounded them, and took them to the General.

"In the first carriage was an old man, of middle age, large, thin, of a dignified figure, and fine countenance. At the first attack he attempted to defend himself; but, seeing that resistance was useless, he yielded and proceeded to General Kirgener, who, seeing no distinguishing mark on the stranger, asked him his name.

"What is that to you?" replied the unknown.

"The general, irritated at this almost impertinent reply, was about to threaten some punishment for it, when the unknown added, 'My rank, Sir, is such that I have a right to claim to speak and to disclose myself to the Emperor only.' The General hesitated; but the man's coolness made him yield the point, and he led him to Petrowski.

"The Emperor was visiting the posts of this residence, and was crossing one of the courts, when the carriage of the unknown entered. An officer who followed him dismounted, and explained the circumstances of the capture, and the determination of the prisoner to disclose himself to none but the Emperor. Napoleon looked steadily upon the stranger, then ordered the court to be cleared, and when they two were alone with Duroc, asked,

"Who are you?"

"A man, who had hoped to escape the vengeance of your Majesty, but who, charged as he has been with a great undertaking, does not fear to assume the responsibility of it, and to avow himself. I am Rastopchin, Governor of Moscow."

"What is this undertaking?" said the Emperor, growing pale.

"Your Majesty knows it and sees it," said Rastopchin, pointing at the lake of fire, in which the holy city was sinking.

"The conflagration!"

"Yes, Sire."

"Sir, it is the work of a barbarian. Your consciousness of crime forewarns you of punishment."

"It will be my last sacrifice, Sire. I shall await it calmly."

"Sacrifice? What do you mean?"

"All my fortune was at Moscow and in my chateau. The fire originated in my dwellings. I have sacrificed every thing to my country, and my life may follow."

"Say, rather, that you have sacrificed your country, ravaging it with fire, and reducing it to ashes."

"Has your Majesty, then, been able to conquer nothing but flames and ashes?"

"The Emperor walked rapidly to and fro, his lips pale and quivering. 'What madness!' said he, 'what folly! You wish, Sir, to be the Russian Brutus; but are these your children, which you have destroyed?'

"My country will judge me, Sire."

"Your country?" and he stopped, looking at him with a searching look. "Your country? You have only offered a terrible holocaust to your sovereign. I can see that your sacrifice is nothing but the sacrifice of Moscow to Petersburg; of old Muscovy to new Russia!" Then,

approaching him, he added, with a bitter smile, 'How much have they paid you for your conflagration?'

"Rastopchin frowned and turned pale; perhaps with anger. 'Russia will judge me as well as your Majesty, and I shall be differently spoken of, Sire, when I have been shot.'

"'Shot! that, Sir, is the punishment of brave men, and an incendiary ——'

"'Cannot be a coward.'

"'Infernal mystery!' muttered Napoleon, turning from him in surprise. A few minutes after, he added; 'If this is only a blind patriotism ——' He did not conclude the sentence.

"'Your Majesty is right,' said Rastopchin, joyfully. 'I can die?'

"'No, you do not deserve to. It would be, perhaps, hardly worth the while. Give him a safe conduct. Go, Sir. Your *undertaking* is still all your own; but, whatever the honor of it, doubt shall tarnish it. Go.'

"Rastopchin departed, and the Emperor returned to the palace."

The following passage, in quite a different strain, is characteristic and amusing. Napoleon, before beginning his Spanish campaign, had settled all his differences with the Pope, and was on the best terms with the Catholic Church.

"Pius VII. died on the 15th of September, 1814. Napoleon was anxious about the nomination of his successor.

"It was said that he wished to proclaim himself sovereign pontiff of the Catholic Church, that his plans would end in his proclaiming himself religious chief of Christendom. Under this new power all the various sects of Christianity would be united, free and independent in their worship, and all adhering to the unity of a supreme pontiff; but he hesitated about this scheme, and thought that the time for it had not come. The nomination of a pope, however, could not be indifferent to him. He knew how much weight religion and the influence of its ministers has on the hearts of mankind, and that this force ought not to be despised in state policy, either as an obstacle or an instrument.

"He must have reflected deeply at this time on this curious exception of an elective monarchy preserved alone in Europe. And these relics of a kind of republican system so strangely mingled with the customs of the Catholic Church, a religion wholly of authority and power, surprised, and perhaps offended him.

"In giving its new constitution to Poland, he had destroyed the right of election, and proclaimed that of hereditary sovereignty. But the innumerable difficulties which opposed the destruction of the principle of the election of popes, and of the cardinals' privileges, restrained him. He did not yet dare to take the only step which his genius thought proper, that of assuming to himself all the pontifical power. He doubted also, whether like Charlemagne he would not choose himself pope; and, although he did not long retain this idea, he still desired to control the election of this sovereign, to whom he had lately

restored his states and a part of his temporal power. With this view, in continuing to the cardinals their great privilege of choosing their pope, he wrote to them the following letter :

“ ‘ ILLUSTRIOUS CARDINALS :

“ ‘ The Lord has taken from you the venerable and sacred pontiff, Pius VII. Your Eminences are about to choose his successor.

“ ‘ Our respectful love for our holy religion makes it a duty to us, to join by our wishes in this pious and solemn election.

“ ‘ We have considered that the interests of religion and those of the empire, as well as our own private inclinations, call to this distinguished station our venerable uncle, His Eminence Cardinal Fesch.

“ ‘ We pray the Lord to enlighten and inspire your Eminences in the performance of your sacred duty.

“ ‘ At our imperial palace of St. Cloud, Oct. 7, 1814.

“ ‘ NAPOLEON.’

“ All the cardinals of Europe were assembled, and the conclave was held in the imperial palace at Lyons.

“ The letter of Napoleon contained more than wishes, it disclosed his orders. Every cardinal replied to it with the assurance of his respect and submission. Twenty-nine cardinals were present at the conclave ; Cardinal Alexander Mattei of Rome presided over the assembly, and the operations of the ballot began.

“ They did not evince that unanimity in obedience which had been promised. The Italian prelates were displeased at seeing the tiara leave Italy, to be worn by a Frenchman ; this had not taken place since the time of Urban VI., in 1378. Some of them, moved by conscientious scruples, thought that they ought to oppose the abolition of this custom, which had indeed been consecrated by the apostolic constitutions. They knew, also, that the right of exclusion, which the sovereigns of Austria and of Spain enjoyed, had been taken from them by a secret decision, and these violations of the forms of election appeared to them like sacrilege. For these reasons eight votes were given for Cardinal Bethelémy Pacca of Benevento, as the signs of an energetic protest, but the twenty-one other voices in the first session called Cardinal Fesch to the chair of St. Peter.

“ The new pope was proclaimed at Lyons, then at Paris, and finally at Rome, whither he went in the month of December following, under the name of Clement XV. He took for his arms the imperial eagle of France.

“ Napoleon was greatly irritated by the division of the cardinals in this election ; but far from showing it, he wrote to Cardinal Pacca the following letter :

“ ‘ The votes which you received for the chair of Saint Peter have shown to me the esteem with which the sacred College regards you.

“ ‘ Their esteem is the guide to mine.

“ ‘ Let me inform your Eminence that I have transmitted to you the insignia of the grand eagle of the legion of honor, and that I present

you to his Holiness the Pope Clement XV. for the vacant seat of the archbishopric of Milan.

“ I pray God that he may hold your Eminence in his high and holy keeping. NAPOLEON.”

“ The Emperor had thought for a moment that the new pope would assume the name of Napoleon I. ; but he soon abandoned this idea, which was based in other plans, which he reserved for the future.”

The following chapter, describing the submission of the whole western continent, is interesting to an American reader :

“ The Emperor had only alluded to the last American revolution in his public address, (to the assembled kings and people of the world, when he proclaimed himself universal sovereign) ; the circumstances were published the next day ; they were read with lively interest, for this submission made Napoleon’s power a universal power, and completed his world.

“ For more than twenty years, America, the land which has no history, no ancestry, no tradition ; which, to supply the places of her plundered children, had begged from Europe her superabundant population, and from Africa the purchase of her captives ; the land, which, without knowing any youth, had passed through innumerable revolutions to the decrepitude of age ; America, was falling to pieces, was sinking to complete ruin. It was naturally divided into two distinct portions : Spanish and Portuguese America, and the America of the United States. The rest of the continent, what had been the Russian and English possessions at the north, and all the West Indies, except St. Domingo, was already under the power of the Emperor.

“ As early as the first wars of Spain and Portugal, Brazil and the other States of South America had raised the standard of independence, and attempted to throw off the yoke of their mother countries ; but these attempts, weakly undertaken by men of slight talent, had only produced in those regions a chronic state of civil war, without inducing either decisive defeats or victories.

“ Bolivar alone, a man of high talent and admirable character, had in 1820 and 1821 liberated New Grenada in two victories, and founded in the heart of America a new republic, which he called Colombia, after the great Columbus. As great a statesman as warrior, he had organized the new republic, and for two years had governed it with remarkable success ; but, harassed by the ingratitude and sedition of his citizens, he had become disgusted with his country and with power, had given up both of them and retired to Jamaica, where he lived tranquil and unknown. So Colombia, like Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, where the mysterious Dr. Francia had just died, Chili and the other Spanish possessions fell back into a sea of anarchy, misery, and civil war, and all these nations destroyed themselves, piecemeal, as it were, like bodies dying of gangrene and fever.

“ At the north, the United States displayed a spectacle no less deplorable. This nation, which was so strongly united when obliged to

conquer a common enemy, in peace and repose felt selfishness insinuate itself into its several varying interests and separate the parts of this so powerful confederacy. Certain regulations of commerce and finance desired by the northern and refused by the southern states, were the origin of this dissension among interests, which was so long protracted that it resulted in furious hate and wars, the more horrible because the combatants were brothers, whose selfishness excited them. The American Congress divided, two or three new confederations were attempted; various seats of government were established, and the young republic of Franklin and Washington perished.

"St. Domingo, the great rebel of the West Indies, which had been strong enough to resist a French expedition in the earlier days of the empire, had actually sunk under the multitude of its rulers; there were emperor, president, chief and king in this African America, and the negroes, having passed too rapidly from slavery to self-government, were ruined by gaining civilization.

"In spite of all these symptoms of dissolution in this continent, the Emperor, occupied with the conquest of the old world, appeared to have quite forgotten the new; no movement, word, or act, ever revealed his thoughts with regard to America. Doubtless, his searching mind considered from the distance the agony of these nations, and his wisdom awaited the result. Perhaps, too, there were unknown agents scattered in these countries, who pointed out the horrible state of things, and the only possible remedy, alliance with the old world, submission to the Emperor. Such language as this now began to be heard in all parts of the continent; — 'Napoleon alone can save America: at least, let us anticipate the conquest which must come. America can, by a voluntary and seasonable submission, secure to herself advantages which she will lose, if conquered. In any case, there is no safety for her, in opposition to Napoleon's monarchy.' Such were the words and thoughts which might be found in every quarter. Either germinating themselves, or sown by others, they became so evident that the governments could not oppose them. Soon senates and conventions assembled in all quarters; a rapid and ready diplomacy harmonized their deliberations. Finally, a general congress of all the sovereigns, presidents, and legislatures of the American states, was called at Panama, and met on the 7th of March, 1827. The independent island of the West Indies was summoned, as well as the chiefs of the scattered savage tribes which still existed on the continent.

"Six sessions sufficed for a great decision. Seven hundred and forty members of legislatures, kings, chiefs, or generals, were present at this congress.

"The deliberation was short. It was consent without dispute, enthusiasm without debate.

"On the 17th of March, General Jackson of the United States, the president of the congress, read, in a loud voice, the unanimous decree which placed the constitutions, the possession and government of America and St. Domingo in the hands of the Emperor Napoleon, sovereign of Europe, Asia, and the isles of the Ocean.

"This decision reached Napoleon only a few days before the 4th of July, 1827, and he kept it secret, that he might proclaim it with the more pomp in the great assembly of the Champ du Mars.

"The states of the Pacific sea had, as we have said, been conquered and overrun by the vessels of the Asiatic expedition. There was, therefore, in the whole world, no point which did not acknowledge the power of Napoleon, and the entire surface of the globe was compassed in these words, 'UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.'"

With this, the climax of Napoleon's conquests, we must, for the present, at least, leave M. Geoffroy's interesting book. The reader will readily see how wide a field is opened to the imagination, which attempts to suggest the uses which the universal sovereign would make of his terrestrial omnipotence. It is a field, which, to a certain extent, every one has travelled. It has given a foundation to innumerable air castles. The chapters which M. Geoffroy gives in this section of his work are by no means the least interesting part of it. At some future time, perhaps, we may allude to the volume again.

CHRONOLOGY.

FOREIGN.

PARIS, April 1. **BANK OF FRANCE.** The *Moniteur* publishes the account of the operations of the Bank of France during the first three months of 1842. On the 25th of March, there were 211,909,148*fr.* in specie deposited in its vaults. The commercial bills discounted amounted to 152,259,492*fr.*; the advances on ingots and money, to 3,023,600*fr.*; the advances on public securities, to 10,662,071*fr.*; the current accounts, debtors, to 16,146,188*fr.*; the capital of the branch banks, to 20,000,000*fr.*; the reserve, to 10,000,000*fr.*; the lodgments in public securities, to 50,187,018*fr.*; the hotel and furniture of the bank, to 4,000,000*fr.*; and various debts and other objects, to 362,620*fr.*; making the assets of the bank amount in all to 473,550,140*fr.* The bank notes in circulation at the same period, exclusive of those issued by the branch banks, represented a sum of 223,180,500*fr.*;

and the bills to order, 1,102,969*fr.* The discounts, advances, and loans on commercial bills during the three months amounted to 229,120,000*fr.*; on ingots and money, to 7,335,600*fr.*; on public securities, to 10,006,900*fr.*; on mint bonds, to 863,700*fr.*; in all, to 247,326,600*fr.*

PARIS, April 21. **FRENCH TAXES.** The *Moniteur* publishes the following table of the receipts of indirect taxes for the first quarter of the present year, as compared with the corresponding quarter of the year 1841. There is an increase on the quarter, as we have before stated, of 13,088,000 francs:

	1842.	1841.
	Francs.	Francs.
Registration, dues, &c.	49,161,000	46,044,000
Stamps,	9,546,000	8,773,000
Customs, Navigation, &c.	24,563,000	20,432,000
French Colonial Sugars,	7,773,000	5,407,000
Foreign Sugars,	1,408,000	2,243,000

Indigenous Sugars,	3,326,000	2,136,000
Salt Dues (Extraction),	12,887,000	12,578,000
Salt Dues (Consumption),	2,324,000	1,830,000
Potable Liquors,	21,114,000	21,202,000
Public Carriages and other Indirect Taxes,	7,684,000	7,104,000
Tobacco Sales,	23,815,000	23,005,000
Gunpowder Sales,	1,237,000	1,092,000
Letters and Duty on sending money,	11,027,000	10,947,000
For Passengers by the Malles Postes,	521,000	497,000
Mails and Packets,	164,000	172,000

Total, 176,550,000 163,462,000

April 22. MR. ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. The Académie Française, properly so called, held a séance yesterday, for the purpose of inaugurating the new member, M. Alexis de Tocqueville, the celebrated author of *La Démocratie en Amérique*, already a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales. The attendance was prodigiously numerous, all the seats being occupied long before the ceremony was announced to begin, the greater portion by ladies, who appeared to take much interest in the scene, judging by the entire and unbroken attention they paid to it. At about 2 o'clock, Count Molé placed himself in the seat of the President, attired in the tasteful uniform of the "Forty" (or Immortels, as they are familiarly termed,) supported by M. de Salvandy on one side, and M. Lebrun on the other. A number of eminent men of letters also took their places in the theatre, including many of the members. We observed Messrs. Mignet, Cousin, Thiers, De Barante, Chateaubriand, Royer Collard, G. de Beaumont, Ampère, De Rémusat, Leon Faucher, Villemain, Hugo, Dupin, Rossi, De Broglie, &c. M. de Tocqueville opened the séance with his éloge of the deceased member, M. de Cessac, the course of whose existence happening to have led him into intimate connexion with the political affairs of the last century, M. de Tocqueville availed himself of this coincidence to weave into his biographical notice a commentary upon the Revolution of 1789, the Empire, and the dazzling career of its hero, Napoleon. The address of M. de Tocqueville was listened to with an attentive and sustained interest.

April 24. STATISTICS OF FRANCE. From a statistical account recently published, it appears that the agriculturists of France possess the following number of animals:

		Francs.
Oxen and cows,	6,681,000 est. at	877,343,000
Merino sheep,	766,310 " "	306,524,000
Common sheep,	30,845,852 " "	616,917,040
Horses & mules,	1,656,000 " "	66,105,500
Pigs,	3,000,000 " "	3,000,000
	43,849,162	1,869,790,340

From the same calculation it results, that the annual produce of the French soil amounts in value to 6,000,000,000*fr.*

BERLIN, April 22. PRISON DISCIPLINE. The king pays particular attention to our prisons and prison discipline. \$1,200,000 are to be expended in the erection of five large prisons (or houses of correction), at Berlin, Königsberg, Münster, and Ratisbon; at the same time a suitable addition is to be made to the salaries of the officers in all such establishments. The Queen appears to extend her benevolent attention, not only to the workhouses, but to the dangerous state in which great criminals are confined.

RUSSIAN STATISTICS. The following is a return of the quantity of wheat shipped in the Russian ports of the Black Sea, from the year 1836 to the year 1840, with the value; together with the value of all the other exports from the same ports during the same period:

Year.	Tschetwerts.	Value in Paper Roubles.
1836.	7,410,006	21,150,090
1837.	1,808,654	28,034,137
1838.	2,191,617	37,257,489
1839.	2,648,667	56,946,340
1840.	1,706,653	36,440,537
Amount of all other Exports in Paper Roubles.		
1836.		25,194,984
1837.		21,424,093
1838.		25,519,211
1839.		28,072,986
1840.		28,332,668

LONDON, April 10. POMPEY'S PILLAR IN IRELAND. A splendid granite column, (a fac-simile of Pompey's Pillar,) has been erected at Carrick-a-Dagon, in the county of Wexford, at the cost of General Browne Clayton, who commanded the 11th Light Dragoons, at Alexandria, in 1801, in commemoration of its

much-celebrated battle, and the deeds of the heroic Abercromby. This noble pillar is 94 feet 3 inches high. It is placed in a picturesque and commanding eminence on General Clayton's estate, and can be seen, and consequently serves as a landmark, along a considerable line of coast. The architect of this splendid column, so honorable to the liberality and patriotism of the gallant General, is Mr. Cobden; and it is, we are assured, every way worthy the gallant deeds it is destined to perpetuate. It has cost several thousand pounds.

LONDON, April 24. SHIPMENTS OF COAL. It appears, from returns made to the House of Commons, that the total quantities of coal, cinders, and culm, exported to foreign countries and the British settlements abroad, in the year 1841, amounted, altogether, to 1,848,294 tons, the gross total export duties which were received thereon being £12,015 5s. 6d.

The total quantities of coal brought coastways and by inland navigation into the port of London during the year 1841, amounted to 2,942,738 tons.

LONDON, April 25. VESSELS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. A return has been laid before Parliament, of the number of vessels above 50 tons burthen, and the total amount of their tonnage registered at each of the ports of G. Britain and Ireland, including the Channel Islands. The three chief ports in England are London, Liverpool, and Newcastle; in Scotland, Glasgow, including Greenock and Port Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee; in Ireland, Belfast, Cork, and Dublin. The returns for these places are as follows: London, 2,405 vessels, 598,554 tons; Liverpool, 1,097 v., 307,852 t.; Newcastle, 1,143 v., 259,571 t.; Glasgow, 662 v., 187,545 t.; Aberdeen, 298 v., 52,443 t.; Dundee, 282 v., 50,060 t.; Belfast, 250 v., 44,458 t.; Cork, 221 v., 29,765 t.; Dublin, 134 v., 23,072 t. Total for England, 10,804 v., 2,033,345 t.; Scotland, 2,261 v., 429,635 t.; Ireland, 1,037 v., 165,969 t.; and for the whole of the United Kingdom, including the Channel Islands, 14,416 v. and 2,668,732 t.

LIVERPOOL, April 26. LAUNCH OF THE HINDOSTAN STEAMSHIP. This splendid vessel, one of the finest steamers that has yet been built, was launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Wilson & Co. The day was beautifully fine, and, as the launch of a vessel of such vast bulk naturally excited great curiosity, a vast concourse of individuals of all classes assembled to witness the event. Amongst the

company present were the Earl of Sefton and a large party of nobility and gentry, several of our leading merchants and their families, and numerous respectable individuals belonging to Liverpool and its vicinity, amongst whom were many ladies. The ceremony of christening was performed by Mrs. Robertson Gladstone. The launch took place at ten minutes past twelve o'clock, and a more beautiful sight was never witnessed. There was some difficulty, at first, in moving so enormous and heavy a structure, her weight being estimated at upwards of 1,300 tons. By dint of proper mechanical appliances, she was at length set in motion, when she glided slowly and majestically into that element on which, we hope, her future career is destined to be one of prosperity and success. This magnificent steamer is of 1,800 tons burden. She is built for the Oriental Steam Navigation Company, and is intended to ply between Suez and Calcutta direct, calling at Aden and Point de Galle, in the island of Ceylon. It is hoped, that when the Hindostan gets fairly at work, the whole distance from England to Calcutta will be performed in 30 days; and if she equals the Oriental and Great Liverpool in swiftness and strength, the hope will be realized. Though larger than the Oriental, the Hindostan is on precisely the same plan; and another steamer, of the same size and construction, to be called the Bentinck, also intended for the line from Suez to Calcutta, is likewise in progress.

DOMESTIC.

RHODE ISLAND. The last Number of the Chronicle carried the review of the recent political movements in Rhode Island to the formal election, by different bodies of the people, of two entirely distinct governments, each claiming to exist on full and sufficient authority. At the time when that number was published, the last act being yet wanting to this drama, there was some doubt whether it would prove a tragedy or farce. The month of May has produced the denouement.

On the 3d of May there was a general gathering in Providence of the more active members of the "suffrage" party. The ceremonies of the day began by the formation of a procession to escort the members of the "suffrage" government to an unfinished edifice, originally intended for a foundry, which was now to be-

come, temporarily, the capitol of the State. No opposition whatever was made to the procession. About 12 o'clock it arrived at the new capitol, and there amid the strains of inspiring music, Governor Dorr, his legislature, and his procession, entered the hall prepared for them. Here they were called to order, and sixty-six members of the House having answered to their names, they proceeded to elect a Speaker, take the oaths of office, and count the votes for Governor.

As no one had voted in this pseudo-election but those who favored Mr. Dorr's revolutionary movements, he had the satisfaction of being chosen the first governor under the "People's Constitution" by an unanimous vote. He at once took the oath of office, and proceeded to read an address to the assembly. The address having been finished, the assembly, without pausing for further organization, proceeded to repeal the law passed by the constitutional assembly at its last session, [Mon. Chron. Vol. III. p 188.] by which all these proceedings, in which they were engaged, were made treason. The rapidity with which this repeal passed spoke well for the efficiency and energy of the new government. The sheriff of the county was ordered to prepare the State House for their future meetings, the Governor was requested to notify the President, and Congress, and the Executives of the several States, of the organization of this new government, and to call upon civil and military officers to render obedience to it, and thus closed the first day of "suffrage" domination. The session of the second day was equally fruitful of important results. Several other acts of the last session were repealed; a *per diem* of \$1 was ordered to each member, and the two branches then proceeded to the various offices of government. An inspector of beef and pork was appointed, but the legislature postponed to its next session the appointment of an inspector of scythe stones, with all the other civil appointments, and proceeded immediately to choose such military officers as the new government should need. Here was a sign of the importance of the crisis. Beef and pork, of course, must be provided for, crisis or no crisis; but no question as to scythe stones, or such like matters, could be entertained in preference to military affairs. By this time there was another legislature in session, and it was not amiss to remember that there might be a resort to arms. The military were

accordingly officered, and then the legislature, mindful of the Treasury and the amount of the *per diem* having authorized the governor to appoint commissioners to go to Washington, adjourned to the 4th of July.

The constitutional legislature had met the same morning at Newport; thirty miles of Narragansett Bay separated the two bodies which represented the people of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. These, too, took the oaths, chose their speaker, counted the votes for governor, and then *resolved*, "that a requisition be and hereby is made by this legislature upon the President of the United States, forthwith to interpose the authority and power of the United States to suppress the insurrectionary and lawless assemblages existing in conformity to the pretended constitution, to support the existing government and laws, and to protect the state from domestic violence." Having sent this requisition to Washington, this Legislature adjourned for a week to await the result.

Meanwhile several companies of U. S. troops had arrived from more southern stations, to garrison the U. S. forts in Rhode Island.

The sheriffs and officers of the state not admitting the authority of the repeal of the law which made the attendance on the suffrage assembly treason, proceeded to make arrests of some of its more prominent members, and of the officers of its government. All of these men were admitted to bail in large amounts, which in almost every instance they found. The officer who attempted to arrest Mr. Sayles, the speaker of this assembly, in Woonsocket, was so much alarmed by the assembly of a large crowd of men, that, having no force at his disposal, he liberated his prisoner. Warrants were issued against Gov. Dorr himself and Sheriff Anthony, of his government; but, although no difficulty had been found in serving other warrants, an unexpected obstacle here presented itself. The Governor had disappeared. A few days showed that he had appointed *himself*, Sheriff Anthony and Mr. D. J. Pearce, who had been arrested and had given bail, the commissioners of the suffrage government at Washington.

Mr. Arnold, a representative from Providence, declined finding bail and was committed; the next day his colleague, Mr. Willard, was also committed; a crowd assembled, declaring that they would

would rescue him, but desisted from any violence on his declaration, that he would rather be imprisoned. On arrival at the jail, however, he gave bail, as did Mr. Arnold, and both were released. This was the 10th of May. On the next day information was received from Washington of the final course to be taken by the General Government with regard to these transactions.

This course was explained by President Tyler in a letter to Governor King in answer to the requisitions of the legislature. Governor King at once published the letter in a proclamation.

"I have to inform your Excellency," said the President, "that my opinions as to the duties of this Government to protect the State of Rhode Island against domestic violence, remain unchanged. Yet, from information received by the Executive since your despatches came to hand, I am led to believe that the lawless assemblages to which reference is made, have already dispersed, and that the danger of domestic violence is hourly diminishing, if it has not wholly disappeared. I have with difficulty brought myself at any time to believe, that violence would be resorted to, or an exigency arise, which the unaided power of the State could not meet; especially as I have from the first felt persuaded, that your Excellency, as well as others associated with yourself in the administration of the government, would exhibit a temper of conciliation, as well as of energy and decision. To the insurgents themselves it ought to be obvious, when the excitement of the moment shall have passed away, that changes achieved by regular, and, if necessary, repeated appeals to the constituted authorities, in a country so much under the influence of public opinion, and by recourse to argument and remonstrance, are more likely to insure lasting blessings than those accomplished by violence and bloodshed on one day, and liable to overthrow by similar agents on another. I freely confess that I should experience great reluctance in employing the military power of this Government against any portion of the people; but, however painful the duty, I have to assure your Excellency, that if resistance is made to the execution of the laws of Rhode Island, by such force as the civil posse shall be unable to overcome, it will be the duty of this Government to enforce the constitutional guarantee—a guarantee given and adopted mutually by all the original States, of

which number Rhode Island was one, and which, in the same way, has been given and adopted by each of the States since admitted into the Union. And if an exigency of lawless violence shall actually arise, the Executive Government of the United States, on the application of your Excellency, under the authority of the resolutions of the legislature, already submitted, will stand ready to succor the authorities of the State in their efforts to maintain a due respect for the laws. I sincerely hope, however, that no such exigency may occur, and that every citizen of Rhode Island will manifest his love of peace and good order, by submitting to the laws, and seeking a redress of grievances by other means than intestine commotions."

Governor Dorr, in his capacity of commissioner, with his fellow commissioners, did not return so rapidly to Rhode Island as did the commissioners of the regular government, who brought the above communication. The suffrage party had, of course, received but little satisfaction from the President. On their return home they addressed public meetings in New York, exciting such *sympathy* for their proceedings there as they could. On the 14th of May, the Governor left New York for Stonington, and having spent the next day (Sunday) there, on Monday he proceeded to Providence in the cars, with an escort. A large procession and military escort attended him at the railroad depot, and escorted him to Federal Hill, where he made an address to the populace. In this address he expressed his regret that he had left Rhode Island; he declared that no more arrests should be permitted. Drawing a sword which he wore, he said it had belonged to an officer, who had served in Florida; that it had been dyed in blood there, and, if the suffrage cause required it, it should be dyed in blood again. He acknowledged that he had asked for volunteer military aid in New York. He had asked for 5,000 men, whom he should call upon, should there be any attempt to march U. States troops to Providence. Governor Dorr's speech was frequently interrupted with cheers, and excited great enthusiasm among his hearers.

The same day he issued a proclamation to the people. After a recapitulation of some of the incidents which we have narrated, and a declaration that the democracy of the country would support the new government, he proceeded in the following words:

"It has become my duty to say, that, as soon as a soldier of the United States shall be set in motion by whatever direction, to act against the people of this State, in aid of the charter government, I shall call for that aid, to oppose all such force, which, I am fully authorized to say, will be immediately and most cheerfully tendered to the service of the people of Rhode Island, from the city of New York, and from other places. The contest will then become national, and our State the battle-ground of American freedom.

"As a Rhode Island man, I regret that the constitutional question in this State cannot be adjusted among our own citizens. But, as the minority have asked that the sword of the National Executive may be thrown into the scale against the People, it is imperative upon them to make the same appeal to their brethren of the States; an appeal which, they are well assured, will not be made in vain. They who have been the first to ask assistance from abroad, can have no reason to complain of consequences which may ensue.

"No further arrests under the law of pains and penalties, which was repealed by the General Assembly of the people at their May session, will be permitted. I hereby direct the military, under their respective officers, promptly to prevent the same, and to relieve all who may be arrested under said law.

"As requested by the General Assembly, I enjoin upon the militia forthwith to elect their company officers; and I call upon volunteers to organize themselves without delay. The military are directed to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service."

This proclamation, like the other "suffrage" state papers, professed to be given under the seal of the State. The suffrage party had employed an artist to manufacture an imitation of the official seal, that their documents might not want any appearance of due formality.

Mr. Dorr took up his residence at the house of *Sheriff* Anthony, in Providence. A considerable number of armed men were assembled to defend the house in case of any attempt at attack by the charter party, and field pieces were planted around it with the same object. These martial demonstrations continued through the day of the 17th. Governor King had under his command the chartered military companies of the city of Providence under arms, and on this day he issued a general

order, commanding the officers of those of other parts of the State to report themselves immediately at the adjutant-general's office, armed and equipped for service. On the afternoon of this day, a force of Governor Dorr's volunteers seized upon the field pieces of the artillery company, the commander of which did not attempt to defend them. At seven o'clock in the evening, Governor King issued an order calling upon well disposed citizens to organize themselves for the defence of government, and despatched messengers to Newport for troops.

All this preparation seemed serious in the extreme, and the universal impression in Providence seems to have been, that before the next morning, civil war would have begun. At two o'clock at night, Governor Dorr, with about two hundred men and two cannon, marched to the arsenal, which was under the charge of Col. Blodgett, of the constitutional government. An attack had been expected, and a considerable garrison was prepared to defend the building. It was summoned in due form, the commander in due form refused to surrender, Governor Dorr ordered his artillerists to fire at the gates, the artillerists obeyed, and touched their linstocks to the touch-holes of the cannon; but here obedience and allegiance ceased; the cannons refused to go off; and, after igniting the priming several times, the attacking party raised the siege and retreated. Whether this failure arose from treachery, accident, or ignorance, has not been stated, and will perhaps never be generally known.

The force in the arsenal only awaited the first shot to give the besieging party a warm reception. But the *first shot* in the "Rhode Island war" was not fired in its first campaign; we trust it will never be. This night's proceedings ended more happily than could have been hoped. The Providence Express, the newspaper organ of the suffrage party, described it by saying that "there was skirmishing through the night, but no bloodshed;" a new kind of skirmishing, which no one dared to hope would continue.

This attack on the arsenal, however, was the most fiercely contested action of the campaign. The next morning the Mayor of Providence called upon all citizens who desired to maintain the peace of the city, to assemble early at the Cadets' Alarm Post, where they would be provided with arms. At the same time a paper was circulated, signed by eleven of the

Senators and Representatives of the suffrage party declining any farther connection with it, declaring that they had never contemplated carrying their constitution into effect, in opposition to the General Government, and that accordingly they resigned their offices. Several similar resignations had before been made.

Some companies of troops from without the city arrived early in the morning at the command of Governor King, and they were at once formed with the Providence companies and the volunteers for an attack on Governor Dorr's head quarters. At half-past 9 they were put in motion for this object, but meanwhile a rumor became prevalent, that Governor Dorr had fled the city. The assembled army marched as commanded to his head quarters, where Governor King and the sheriff proceeded to search the house, notwithstanding the declaration distinctly made there, that he had left the city. The suffrage volunteers then mostly dispersed; but about twenty-five of them retained their posts, standing at their cannon; the constitutional forces took stations around the house.

It was immediately ascertained that Governor Dorr had fled. The force assembled was of course sufficient to crush or disarm the few bold men who remained of his partisans. Their leaders expressed a willingness, however, to give up their cannon, and disperse voluntarily, if the government forces were drawn off, and the commander of the latter agreed to this arrangement. The suffrage leaders here had not quite the influence which they had hoped; these men drew off their cannon, and intrenched themselves with them on Federal Hill, where they spent the night, receiving some recruits. On the morning of the 19th, however, the artillery company marched up and took possession of the guns, without any resistance. The insurgents immediately dispersed.

Some curiosity was at first manifested as to Governor Dorr's disappearance, which, some of his partisans asserted, was made as the condition of a compromise. No details of any mutual arrangement have been published, however, and as no person on either side was authorized to make any, and as no person has professed to have had any share in any, it seems clear, that his flight was caused by none. Other accounts throw the blame of his disgraceful retreat on Sheriff Anthony, in whose house he had fixed his head quar-

ters. Governor Dorr himself has kept silent since his retirement.

The authority of the constitutional government is for the present entirely reestablished, and, to all appearances, permanently so.

VIRGINIA, April 28. The annual election for members of the State Legislature took place. The democratic party prevailed, obtaining large majorities in each House. The result is as follows:

Senate,	Whigs 12	Opp. 20
House,	" 49	" 85
	61	105
		61
Opp. maj. on joint ballot,		44

Last year the parties were tied in the Senate, and there was a Whig majority of two in the House.

THE FLORIDA WAR. The U. S. troops in Florida, commanded by Col. Worth, in person, succeeded in bringing Halleck Tustunuggee to action, and defeating him with loss. The Indians suffered so severely in this engagement and its consequences, that Halleck "came in" a few hours after and made arrangements for the surrender of his people, amounting to about eighty persons, twenty-four of whom were warriors. This surrender took place a few days after. The Indians in Florida were reduced by it to less than two hundred, under Sam Jones, in the southern part of the peninsula, who profess to observe General Macomb's treaty, and have recently committed no acts of war.

Under these circumstances, on the 14th of May, the Secretary of War published his official directions for withdrawing the larger portion of the troops, and putting an end to hostilities.

AUGUSTA, (Maine,) May 18. The Legislature met to consider the subject of the N. E. Boundary, in obedience to Gov. Fairfield's Proclamation, [Mon. Chron. Vol. III. p. 191.] The Governor, being notified of the presence of a quorum, communicated to the two Houses the objects of the special session by message. The message was referred to a large joint committee, consisting of nine members on the part of the Senate and thirteen on the part of the House. Mr. Cavanagh is chairman of the Committee.

The message was accompanied by the letter of Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, in which he requests that the legislature may be convened, and that commissioners may be appointed, with authority on the part of the State, to treat jointly with the

government of the United States, and with Commissioners to be appointed by Massachusetts, for the establishment of a boundary line, to be agreed on by the parties, with such equivalents in territory or otherwise, as may be judged reasonable, for any departure from the treaty line. The Governor in his message states the purport of the communication made to him by the Secretary of State by order of the President, and proceeds to present his views of the question submitted. He alludes to the fact that the alternative to a settlement by a negotiation for a conventional line proposed by the general government, is the submission of the question to another arbitration, which the State of Maine has remonstrated against, and he believes will continue to remonstrate. This fact, he says, should be taken into consideration by the legislature, in deciding on the question whether they will give their assent to a direct cession of territory for an equivalent. He is of opinion, that if any thing less is intended by the Representative of Great Britain, than the offer of a just and equitable equivalent for that portion of territory which that country has heretofore claimed as her own, nothing will be accomplished in the way of an adjustment. But if Great Britain is prepared to treat on these terms, by offering a fair equivalent for territory to be ceded, in other territory, privileges of navigation or other advantages, he does not see why the question may not be thus put at rest for ever. He therefore thinks favorably of the appointment of commissioners, and cheerfully recommends the adoption of that course. The Governor expresses an earnest hope that the legislature will confine themselves to this object of their session, and that they will come to a decision with as much despatch as is consistent with due deliberation.

The joint committee, after examination of the subject, reported on the 20th several resolutions, of which the following are of most importance :

Resolved, That there shall be chosen, by ballot, in convention of both branches of the Legislature, four persons, who are hereby constituted and appointed commissioners, on the part of this State to repair to the seat of government of the United States, and to confer with the authorities of that government touching a conventional line, or line by agreement, between the State of Maine and the British Prov-

inces, and to give the assent of this State to any such line, with such terms, conditions, considerations and equivalents as they shall deem consistent with the honor and interest of the State; with the understanding that no such line be agreed upon without the assent of such commissioners.

Resolved, That the said commissioners be furnished by the Governor with evidence of their appointment, under the seal of the State.

" Resolved, That the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, have power to fill any vacancy that may occur in said commission by death, resignation, or otherwise.

Resolved, That the said commissioners make return of their doings herein to the Governor, to be by him presented to the legislature at its next session.

These resolutions passed the Senate on the 21st, one member only dissenting.

They were then sent to the House, where an amendment was proposed, requiring as a preliminary to the negotiation a recognition of the treaty line, as understood by Maine. This amendment was negatived, yeas 60, nays 123. Another amendment was offered, proposing to submit the question to the people, to be decided upon by vote in the respective towns. This amendment was rejected, and the original resolutions were adopted by a vote of 177 to 11.

The first resolution was amended in the last line in such manner as to require the " unanimous " assent of the commissioners, to authorize the adoption of a conventional line of boundary. The Legislature closed their proceedings in reference to this subject, by making choice of the Hon. Edward Kent, William P. Preble, E. Kavanagh, and John Otis, Esqs. to be commissioners under the foregoing resolutions.

The Legislature proceeded to pass a law for dividing the state into ten districts, for the choice of Representatives in Congress. There was much disagreement between the two branches of the Legislature, in relation to the composition of some of the districts, and it was only after repeated attempts at compromise, that they finally agreed in the passage of a bill. The session closed on the 30th, after a continuance of thirteen days.

NEW ORLEANS, May 19. The U. S. Cutter Woodbury arrived from Vera Cruz, bringing as passengers Mr. Ellis, late Minister to Mexico, with Mr. George W. Kendall, and other American citizens, who

had been connected with the Santa Fé expedition, and had obtained their release from imprisonment through the intercession of the American Minister. Mr. Thompson, the new Minister, arrived in Mexico before the departure of Mr. Ellis, and had been accredited at that government.

Boston, May 23. The Governor of Massachusetts, with the advice and consent of the Council, by virtue of a resolve of the Legislature passed at the last session, appointed the Hon. Abbot Lawrence, John Mills, and Charles Allen, to be commissioners on the part of the Commonwealth, to give their consent to such arrangement between the General Government and the representative of the British Government for settling the boundary line between the state of Maine and the British Provinces, as they may deem to be for the interest of the Commonwealth.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

The proceedings of Congress during the last month have not been devoted to subjects of very deep general interest.

The Apportionment Bill was not settled on the basis which was at first proposed, which was explained in the last Number of the Chronicle, [p. 192.] After a long debate and several proposals for amendment in committee of the whole, the House receded from that basis, and adopted the ratio of 50,179, giving a House of 305 members. Another amendment, rendering the "district system" imperative on the States, was debated for several days more, and finally prevailed, and the bill as thus amended was sent up to the Senate on the 3d of May. The Senate has been engaged in discussing important amendments, but has yet come to no decision.

Both branches were occupied for a considerable part of the month in the consideration of the Civil Appropriation Bill, [see Mon. Chron. p. 192.] The Senate, having amended the bill in several particulars, in some of which they restored clauses which had been struck out by the House from the original draft of the bill, passed it on the 4th of May. The House concurred with some of these amendments, but insisted in rejecting others; and it was not till a committee of conference had reported a compromise, that

the bill passed both branches on the 15th.

A bill to provide further remedial justice in the courts of the United States occupied the attention of the Senate for several days. The bill was reported in pursuance of the recommendation of the President in his message, [Mon. Chron. Vol. II. p. 563.] that some provision should be made for the removal to the United States Courts of persons under trial in circumstances similar to that of McLeod, and more recently of Hogan. No action has as yet been taken on it.

Early in the month, the attention of the House was occupied by a debate, which lasted two or three days, as to the propriety of printing the report of the commissioners appointed to investigate the affairs of the New York Custom House. As the commission was ordered by the President, it was argued, that with the President rested the question of the propriety of its publication. This debate arose on a motion to reconsider the order to print, and, as the House did not reconsider, the report of Mr. Poindexter, a member of the commission, was published in a few days. Each of the commissioners made separate reports, going at length into the subject.

Some conversation took place at different periods of the month in the Senate, with reference to the disturbances in Rhode Island; but the Senate took no action, and adopted no resolution on the subject.

On the 9th of May, the Secretary of the Treasury sent to the House, at their request, his plan for a tariff of imports to take the place of the present tariff during the ensuing summer. No action has as yet been taken by Congress, and we reserve a sketch of it until we have to mention the debates upon it.

Mr. Giddings, [see Mon. Chron. Vol. III. p. 191.] having returned to his constituents, proceeded to canvass the district as a candidate for immediate reelection. The result was his election by a vote of 7,469; 3,943 votes being given to Mr. Edwards, his opponent. Mr. Giddings then returned to Washington, and on the 4th of May resumed his seat.

The bills making appropriations for the naval and military service have undergone long discussion in the House, chiefly on propositions to reduce the amount of appropriation. As neither of these bills was passed, we defer a notice of the proceedings upon them to our next Number.